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The historical procession of Andrea Mantegna’s Triumphs of Caesar: from Mantua to Hampton Court

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THE HISTORICAL PROCESSION OF ANDREA MANTEGNA'S *TRIUMPHS OF CAESAR*: FROM MANTUA TO HAMPTON COURT

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation centers on Andrea Mantegna's masterful series of nine canvases, the *Triumphs of Caesar*, painted for the Gonzaga family of Mantua in the late Quattrocento. The project considers the history of the series, including the circumstances of its commission, the use of the *Triumphs* within the court culture of Mantua, and the recontextualization of the series in England after its sale to King Charles I in 1630. I argue that the series was intended to serve as a form of permanent palatial decoration, and that only through a series of unforeseen events was the *Triumphs* ultimately used as a backdrop for theatrical performances. At Hampton Court Palace, outside of London, the *Triumphs* took on a new role, one which changed over the centuries, dependent upon the occupant of the palace.

The first chapter explores the iconography of the *Triumphs of Caesar* and addresses Mantegna's possible visual and literary sources. I situate the series within the context of Renaissance triumphal imagery and argue that the strictly classical nature of Mantegna's *Triumphs* sets it apart from other fifteenth-century depictions. The second chapter turns to the patronage of the series. Though the majority of scholars believe either Lodovico II or Francesco II Gonzaga to have been the patron, I suggest instead that it was Federico I Gonzaga who commissioned the series from Mantegna. I propose that Federico intended to display the *Triumphs* in the modern palace he was constructing, the Domus Nova, where the series would impress upon visitors both the military might and cultural attainments of the Gonzaga. After Federico's sudden death, however, his son Francesco inherited the series, and it was only then that the lightweight canvases were put to use as backdrops for theater and other ephemeral events, a topic addressed in chapter three. The fourth and final chapter turns to England and the role of the *Triumphs* at Hampton Court Palace, the home of the series for the past four centuries. I argue that the *Triumphs of Caesar* functioned differently for each occupant of the palace in turn, serving as political, cultural, or decorative instruments.

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Introduction

Giorgio Vasari hailed Andrea Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar* as "la miglior cosa che lavorasse mai," the best thing that he ever executed.[1] Begun in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, while Mantegna was employed as a court artist by the Gonzaga family of Mantua, the series of nine canvases portrays an ancient Roman triumph awarded to Julius Caesar. Over the centuries, the painting was repurposed to suit different needs: it was used as a backdrop for theatrical events, installed in various spaces across Mantua, then sold to King Charles I of England, at which point the *Triumphs* was put on display at Hampton Court Palace. Since the time of its creation, the *Triumphs of Caesar* was hailed as a masterwork of the Italian Renaissance, praised by those who saw it—first in Mantua and then in England. Despite the high value placed on the series, the *Triumphs* never had a real permanent home, rarely remaining in one place for more than a few decades. This dissertation follows the life of this fascinating painting, from its commission and creation, through its use by various owners, and its changing role in subsequent times and places.

A note on terminology: as will be discussed in chapter one, the *Triumphs of Caesar* likely portrays a single Roman triumph. Rightly then, the painting should be called the *Triumph of Caesar*. However, from the start, the series has been referred to as the *Trionfi* or the *Triumphs*, and I will continue with that convention here (although the *Triumphs of Caesar* as a whole will still be considered a singular object).

[1] Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori, Tomo III*, ed. Gaetano Milanesi (Florence: G. C. Sansoni Editore, 1878), 397 and Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects, Volume 1*, trans. Gaston du C. de Vere and ed. David Ekserdjian (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), 516.

I. State of the Literature

Though much has been written on Andrea Mantegna, the *Triumphs of Caesar* has, until recently, received less scholarly attention. This is perhaps due to the fact that the *Triumphs* (figures 0.1 to 0.9) has spent the last four centuries tucked away at Hampton Court Palace and, for much of that time, in a poor state of preservation. Interest in the painting has grown over the past half-century after a successful restoration in the 1960s. Most recently, some or all of the canvases featured in two major exhibitions in London: first, in the Royal Academy of Arts exhibition "Charles I: King and Collector," where all nine canvases were on display; and second in the National Gallery show, "Mantegna & Bellini," which featured three of the paintings.[2]

Much of the scholarship on the series grapples with the difficult question of the circumstances of the commission of the *Triumphs of Caesar*. In general, most authors have concluded that the series was commissioned by either Lodovico II or Francesco II Gonzaga, with the majority favoring Francesco II.[3] Though early writers felt the canvases were likely completed by the mid-1490s, more recent scholarship has considered that Mantegna may have worked on the series until shortly before his death in 1506. Though a number of scholars propose that the *Triumphs* was intended to be housed

[2] "Charles I: King and Collector," curated by Desmond Shawe-Taylor and Per Rumberg, was on view from January 27 to April 15, 2018. "Mantegna & Bellini," curated by Caroline Campbell, Dagmar Korbacher, Neville Rowley, and Sarah Vowles, opened October 1, 2018 and was on display until January 27, 2019.
[3] Only Caroline Elam and David Chambers have seriously considered Federico I, son of Lodovico, as a possible patron. See Caroline Elam, "Mantegna at Mantua," in *Splendours of the Gonzaga*, ed. David Chambers and Jane Martineau (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1981), 22 and David S. Chambers, "Il Marchese Federico I Gonzaga (1441-1484) e *Il Trionfo di Giulio Cesare* di Andrea Mantegna," in *Andrea Mantegna: Impronta del Genio*, ed. Rodolfo Signorini, Viviana Rebonato, and Sara Tammaccaro (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2010), 513.

in a room near the Camera Picta, no general consensus has been reached regarding its original location. Scholars are in agreement, however, that the painting depicts a triumph of Julius Caesar, and that Mantegna likely utilized a number of visual and textual sources in developing the iconography.

Perhaps the earliest work of modern scholarship to contribute to the study of the *Triumphs* is a book on Mantegna by Paul Kristeller. Kristeller, writing in 1901, was one of the first (and only) to seriously consider how the painting may have functioned in a theatrical setting.[4] In the mid-twentieth century, a number of monographs were published on Andrea Mantegna, including those by Erica Tietze-Conrat (1955), Renata Cipriani (1963), and Niny Garavaglia (1967), none of which, however, made any new contributions to the study of the *Triumphs*.[5] A more detailed monograph on Mantegna was published by Ronald Lightbown in 1986, in which the author devotes a chapter to the *Triumphs of Caesar*, arguing that the painting was commissioned by Francesco II around 1485. Lightbown posits that the *Triumphs* was originally intended for a *sala* (room) in the Castello di San Giorgio next to the Camera Picta, in the Palazzo Ducale complex in Mantua.[6]

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[4] Paul Kristeller, *Andrea Mantegna*, trans. Arthur Strong (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1901), 285-287. An article by E. K. Waterhouse, published in 1934, was another early attempt to unpack the complicated chronology and intended location of the *Triumphs*. E. K. Waterhouse, C. H. Collins Baker, and J. MacIntyre, "Mantegna's Cartoons at Hampton Court," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* Vol. 64, No. 372 (March 1934): 102-104.

[5] E. Tietze-Conrat, *Mantegna: Paintings, Drawings, Engravings* (London: Phaidon Press, 1955), 21-23 and 183; Renata Cipriani, *All the Paintings of Andrea Mantegna*, trans. Paul Colacicchi (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1963), 32-33 and 80-81; and Niny Garavaglia, *The Complete Paintings of Mantegna* (New York: Henry N. Abrams, Inc., 1967), 110-111.

[6] Ronald Lightbown, *Mantegna: With a Complete Catalogue of the Paintings, Drawings and Prints* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 142 and 147. Lightbown believes the paintings were displayed in three groups of three. Many scholars have noted that the nine paintings do seem to have been

By far the most comprehensive monograph to date that exclusively addresses the *Triumphs of Caesar* remains Andrew Martindale's book, published in 1979.[7] The text is thorough in many areas, particularly the catalog, which details each individual painting.[8] Martindale argues for Lodovico Gonzaga as patron of the series, and does not consider scenarios of other possible patrons or dates of commission, discounting subsequent rulers Federico and Francesco.[9] Like earlier authors, Martindale assumes the project was completed by the mid-1490s.[10] He notes that the light source is consistent in all nine canvases, suggesting they were meant to be displayed in a long row, probably in a room with windows on the opposite wall. The geography of the various Gonzaga residences has changed greatly over the decades, and Martindale does an admirable job of reconstructing the archaeology of the site. He argues that only the Corridoio del Passerino, in the Palazzo della Corte (also a part of the Palazzo Ducale), was long enough to accommodate the *Triumphs*.[11]

Only a few other monographs have been written on the *Triumphs*. Though it provides a brief summary of the painting's history at the start, Carla Cerati's *I Trionfi di Andrea Mantegna e il Palazzo di S. Sebastiano in Mantova* focuses primarily on the

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conceived in groups of three, though most believe they were displayed all along one wall, due to the consistent light source.

[7] Andrew Martindale, *The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna, in the Collection of her Majesty the Queen at Hampton Court* (London: Harvey Miller, 1979).

[8] His analysis of some details in the painting, however, is now frequently discounted. Martindale interprets the frieze imagery in canvas IX as being a form of symbolic hieroglyphics, which seems unlikely. See Martindale, *Triumphs of Caesar*, Appendix I and Charles Hope, "Mantegna's Classical World," review of *The 'Triumphs of Caesar' by Andrea Mantegna in the Collection of her Majesty the Queen at Hampton Court*, by Andrew Martindale, *The London Review of Books* Vol. 2, No. 12 (June 19, 1980): 16-17.

[9] Martindale, *Triumphs of Caesar*, 44-45.

[10] Hope, "Mantegna's Classical World," 16-17.

[11] Martindale, *Triumphs of Caesar*, 34-42.

construction and history of the Palazzo San Sebastiano (the painting's eventual home).[12] More recently, Thomas Arlt wrote a short book on the *Triumphs* published in 2006, *Andrea Mantegna, Triumph Caesars: Ein Meisterwerk der Renaissance in neuem Licht*. Arlt's new contribution to the scholarship is the rediscovery of a pair of paintings in a museum in Graz, Austria, that were relatively early copies after Mantegna's originals.[13]

A number of exhibitions, including the two recent shows in London, have further expanded the literature on Mantegna and the *Triumphs of Caesar*. The 1981 exhibition, "The Splendours of the Gonzaga," presented at the Victoria and Albert Museum, focused on the connections between Mantua and England. Caroline Elam contributed a chapter on Mantegna to the catalog, in which she proposed, contrary to most other scholars, that Federico I Gonzaga may have been the patron of the *Triumphs*.[14] In 1992, the *Triumphs* was included in an exhibition in London at the Royal Academy of Arts, where eight of the canvases (all save number VII) were exhibited, marking the first time in centuries that the series had been displayed outside Hampton Court. The show then traveled to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, though the *Triumphs* did not make the journey. In the catalog produced in conjunction with the exhibition, Charles Hope provides detailed entries on the canvases. In the text, Hope builds on ideas he first published in 1985, in which he posited that the canvases were not executed in order (that is, starting with scene one), but rather that Mantegna first painted the end of the procession, scenes seven

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[12] Carla Cerati, *I Trionfi di Cesare di Andrea Mantegna e il Palazzo di S. Sebastiano in Mantova* (Mantua: Casa del Mantegna, 1989).
[13] For details on these newly discovered copies after the *Triumphs*, see Thomas Arlt, *Andrea Mantegna, Triumph Caesars: Ein Meisterwerk der Renaissance in neuem Licht* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2005), particularly section IV.
[14] Elam, "Mantegna at Mantua," 22.

through nine, which includes the triumphant Julius Caesar.[15] Hope summarizes these ideas in the Met catalog, in addition to providing a detailed visual analysis of each canvas, including possible literary sources for the work.[16] The catalog also presents entries on prints and drawings made after Mantegna's *Triumphs*. Another exhibition on Mantegna, at the Musée du Louvre in 2008, featured the fourth canvas in the series, along with a number of related works on paper. Elam's chapter in that catalog on the *Triumphs of Caesar* offers a useful overview of the series.[17]

The catalog for the recent Royal Academy exhibition (2018) considers the *Triumphs* within the context of Charles I's collecting practices. Various essays highlight the king's tastes and preferences, including the manner in which he chose to display certain works. The essay on the Gonzaga collection is particularly relevant, even if it does not present much new material.[18] All nine canvases were included in the exhibition, and it was illuminating to view the series among other works from Charles's collection. However, the manner of display—the canvases clustered in groups of three around the walls of the room, with the first canvas adjacent to the ninth, gaps for doorways, and no pilasters—was less than ideal, and greatly diminished the processional effect.

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[15] Charles Hope, "The Chronology of Mantegna's *Triumphs*," in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Craig Hugh Smyth, Vol. II*, ed. Andrew Morrogh, et al. (Florence: Giunti Barbèra, 1985), 302-303.
[16] Jane Martineau, ed., *Andrea Mantegna* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), see specifically Charles Hope, "The Triumphs of Caesar," 350-356 and the catalog entries (357-372).
[17] Caroline Elam, "Les *Triomphes* de Mantegna: La Forme et la Vie," in *Mantegna: 1431-1506*, ed. Giovanni Agosti and Dominque Thiébaut (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2008), 363-371.
[18] Barbara Furlotti and Guido Rebecchini, "'Rare and Unique in the World': Mantegna's 'Triumph' and the Gonzaga Collection," in *Charles I: King and Collector*, ed. Per Rumberg and Desmond Shawe-Taylor (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2018), 54-59.

The exhibition "Mantegna & Bellini" at the National Gallery (fall 2018 through January 2019) offered both a chronological survey of Mantegna's oeuvre and a visual comparison to the work of the painter's brother-in-law, Giovanni Bellini. Though only three of the canvases (number II, IV, and V) were displayed, the inclusion of pilasters and the bright lighting allowed for a clear and advantageous viewing of the *Triumphs*. The canvases were shown in the same room as Mantegna's *Introduction of the Cult of Cybele at Rome*, a late work by the artist also featuring a classical subject and a frieze-like composition. The pairing allowed for clear visual comparisons between the two works and a better understanding of Mantegna's interest in antiquity and attention to detail. Also on display was a recently discovered drawing, seemingly a preparatory study for canvas II (discussed in the first chapter). The enlightening catalog traces similarities and differences in Mantegna and Bellini's styles, compositional choices, and career trajectories, while also providing detailed insight into certain works of art, including the *Triumphs.*[19]

Widening the discussion, there is the question of the theatrical use of the *Triumphs of Caesar* and its role within the court culture of Mantua. This topic is frequently glossed over in accounts of the painting, with only passing mention of the records that refer to its use in a theatrical setting.[20] As referenced previously, Kristeller is one of the first (and few) to consider more critically the implications of the use of the

[19] Caroline Campbell, et al., *Mantegna & Bellini* (London: National Gallery Company, 2018). See particularly in that catalog: Caroline Campbell, "A Tale of Two Artists and Two Cities: Mantegna, Bellini; Padua, Venice," 15-27; Sarah Vowles and Dagmar Korbacher, "Drawing Conclusions: The Graphic Work of Mantegna and Bellini," 69-85; and Sarah Vowles and Caroline Campbell, "Mantegna, Bellini and Antiquity," 232-247.
[20] Martindale, *Triumphs of Caesar*, 31-33.

canvases in theater.[21] Alessandro D'Ancona's *Origini del Teatro Italiano* is an invaluable source for the staging of dramas in Italy during the Renaissance.[22] Other useful resources on theater and processionals include George Kernodle's book *From Art to Theatre: Form and Convention in the Renaissance*, Bonner Mitchell's *Italian Civic Pageantry in the High Renaissance*, and Oscar Brockett and Franklin Hildy's *History of Theatre*.[23] Turning specifically to Mantua, a number of books illuminate the culture and theater there during the Renaissance. Guido Rebecchini's text, *Private Collectors in Mantua*, provides details on the city's court culture.[24] Similarly, Charles Rosenberg's *The Court Cities of Northern Italy* devotes a chapter to Mantua, with a focus on the Gonzaga's many building projects.[25] Molly Bourne's book, *Francesco II Gonzaga: The Soldier Prince as Patron,* is particularly helpful in understanding the role Francesco played in the use of the canvases as theatrical backdrops.[26] Though these various texts provide helpful context for theater and court culture in Mantua, none specifically address the use of the *Triumphs* as a theatrical backdrop.

Finally, there is the purchase of the *Triumphs of Caesar* by King Charles I of England and its subsequent display at Hampton Court Palace. The most thorough

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[21] Kristeller, *Andrea Mantegna*, 283-288.
[22] Alessandro D'Ancona, *Origini del Teatro Italiano, Volume II* (Rome: Bardi Editore, 1996), 349-392.
[23] George R. Kernodle, *From Art to Theatre: Form and Convention in the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944); Bonner Mitchell, *Italian Civic Pageantry in the High Renaissance* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1979); and Oscar G. Brockett and Franklin J. Hildy, *History of the Theatre, Ninth Edition* (New York: Allyn and Bacon, 2003).
[24] Guido Rebecchini, *Private Collectors in Mantua, 1500-1630* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2002), 34-36.
[25] Charles M. Rosenberg, *The Court Cities of Northern Italy: Milan, Parma, Piacenza, Mantua, Ferrara, Bologna, Urbino, and Rimini* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), particularly Chapter 3, "The Art of Diplomacy: Mantua and the Gonzaga, 1328-1630," by Molly Bourne, 138-195.
[26] Molly Bourne, *Francesco II Gonzaga: The Soldier-Prince as Patron* (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 2008).

account of the sale of the Gonzaga art collection by Daniel Nijs to Charles I is found in Christina Anderson's book, *The Flemish Merchant of Venice*.[27] Seemingly little has been written on the presence and function of the painting in England or its impact on the royal court. Simon Thurley's book, *Hampton Court Palace: A Social and Architectural History*, is a vital resource on the palace, as is *The Story of Hampton Court Palace* by David Souden and Lucy Worsley.[28] Contemporary handbooks and guidebooks also proved to be an invaluable source for understanding the palace at various periods of history.

II. Methodologies

A primary focus of this dissertation is the commission, reception, and use of art objects. I explore how Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar* functioned and was appreciated while in Mantua, and how its status changed when the series moved to England. This requires an interdisciplinary approach, with my research drawing on scholarship not only from the field of art history, but also studies in Classics, history, literature, and theater. Patronage studies, reception theory, and collecting practices are important aspects of my research, as well as the consideration of the *Triumphs* as a mobile object that was handled and used. By not limiting myself to one specific time or location, it became possible to examine how the meaning of the series changed as it moved from place to place.

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[27] Christina M. Anderson, *The Flemish Merchant of Venice: Daniel Nijs and the Sale of the Gonzaga Art Collection* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), particularly 137-139.
[28] Simon Thurley, *Hampton Court Palace: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003) and David Souden and Lucy Worsley, *The Story of Hampton Court Palace* (New York: Merrell Publishers Ltd., 2015).

Investigating the life of the *Triumphs* beyond its initial creation allowed for an exploration of how the function and role of a work from the fifteenth century evolved and changed as that object continued to be used into the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. By considering the entire history of the painting, I endeavor to better understand the society that produced the *Triumphs of Caesar* and how changes in the function and significance of the series over time provide insight into the values and tastes of collectors of the past.

One specific methodological framework utilized is reception theory. Various audiences at different times and places are considered, starting with the artist, his patron, and visitors to Mantua over the decades and continuing to the royal family in England and guests at Hampton Court Palace. Certainly, one must consider how various moments in history alter how one views and understands art objects, and that meaning may shift. In this vein, I will be following Michael Baxandall's idea of the "period eye," exploring the notion that a viewer in early sixteenth-century Mantua would have interacted with the painting in possibly an altogether different manner than someone in England a century later.[29] Mantegna would have had a specific audience—the Gonzaga and their contemporaries—in mind when he created the series, and one can suppose that the painting was executed in a manner that would make sense to this intended audience, allowing them to glean certain meanings from—and project them onto—the imagery. John Shearman's *Only Connect…Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance* offers

[29] Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style*, second ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), in particular Section Two, "The Period Eye."

a useful methodological framework, in which the author emphasizes the theatricality of Renaissance art, its transitive qualities, and the way in which a spectator would engage with and "read" a work of art—all ideas which apply to the *Triumphs of Caesar*.[30]

Consideration is equally given to how an audience would have interacted with the painting a century or more after its creation. How would monarchs and members of the royal court have reacted to the series in England? As its function changed, from an object that was used in theatrical contexts to a painting that seems to have stayed firmly on the wall, did one's understanding of the work also change? By seeking to answer these questions I hope to offer fresh avenues of interpretation for the later history of the *Triumphs*, understanding the series as a significant object within its new setting, imbued with new meaning and purpose. It is also worth considering how the use of the canvases in England might offer clarity as to their use in Italy.

The physicality and portability of the painting is relevant not only to how it functioned in Mantua, but also in regards to its travel to England. David Young Kim, in his book *The Traveling Artist in the Italian Renaissance*, tackles the concept of mobility, specifically in relation to early modern artists.[31] Many of his theories, including his ideas relating to artistic influence, can be applied equally well to the transport of art objects, such as the significance of the movement of the *Triumphs* within Mantua and eventually to England. Adrian Randolph, in *Touching Objects: Intimate Experiences of Italian Fifteenth-Century Art*, focuses on the physical interaction one has with art. Although the

[30] John K. G. Shearman, *Only Connect…Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), see the Introduction for an outline of his approach.
[31] David Young Kim, *The Traveling Artist in the Italian Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014).

types of artworks Randolph studies are quite different from the *Triumphs* (such as small decorative objects), his interest in "experience," and the interactions between patron, artist, viewer, and the object itself, offer a helpful guide.[32] There is, however, a gap in the scholarship regarding the use of art objects within a theatrical context, a topic I address in my third chapter.

III. Chapter Summaries

The first chapter, "Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar*: Iconography and Source Material," addresses the topic of literary and visual sources utilized by Mantegna in the creation of the *Triumphs of Caesar* and explores the iconography of the series. The chapter opens with a short biography of Mantegna and an examination of the materials and techniques used in the creation of the *Triumphs*, along with a study of drawings and prints related to the series. Then I turn to the iconography of the *Triumphs* and discuss the various literary and visual sources which Mantegna might have used. An outline is presented of the general format of an ancient Roman triumph, exploring its reinterpretation during the Renaissance and the proliferation of triumphal imagery in the Quattrocento. I argue that the novelty of the *Triumphs*, namely its strictly classical nature and lack of contemporary or allegorical imagery, sets it apart from other Renaissance depictions of triumphs.

[32] Adrian W. B. Randolph, *Touching Objects: Intimate Experiences of Italian Fifteenth-Century Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014).

In the second chapter, "Mantegna and the Gonzaga: The Commission of the *Triumphs of Caesar*," I turn my attention to the difficult question of the circumstances of the commission, examining scenarios previously proposed by scholars and considering the merits of those theories. I provide an overview of the documentary evidence and known timeline, give consideration to both Lodovico and Francesco Gonzaga as potential patrons, and explore possible sites of display. Building off the ideas of a minority of scholars, I argue that it was Federico Gonzaga who commissioned the series, early in his reign as marquis. Consideration of Federico as patron allows for a new possibility regarding the original planned location of the painting, namely, that it was intended for Federico's never-completed Domus Nova. Further, I argue that, from its conception, the series was designed to function as a form of novel palatial decoration—impressing visitors and conveying a strong message of both the military might and cultural attainments of the Gonzaga.

The third chapter, "The Court Culture of Mantua: Art and Theater," delves into the world of theater and processionals at the Mantuan court. There are records of the *Triumphs of Caesar* being used in a theatrical context. I explore the staging of theater, processionals, pageants, and other ephemeral performances, arguing that—though this most likely was never its intended primary purpose—the *Triumphs* functioned as a mobile object and was incorporated into various productions for two decades after the death of Federico, before being installed in a permanent home. Outside of the three known instances when the series was used in such a way, I suggest other occurrences in which the *Triumphs* might have been put to a decorative use, starting with Francesco's

marriage to Isabella d'Este in 1490. That such a significant work of art was allowed to be used for ephemeral productions suggests the importance attached to both those events and to the painting itself.

The fourth and final chapter, "The Move to England and the Role of the *Triumphs of Caesar* at Hampton Court," addresses the position of the *Triumphs* in England after its relocation there in 1630, as both a decorative object and as a political statement. The chapter opens with a study of the collecting practices of King Charles I and his purchase of the *Triumphs* as part of the Gonzaga collection shortly after becoming king. I then turn to Hampton Court Palace itself, with particular attention paid to the Tudor Long Gallery, the original site of display for the series in England. I explore how the painting would have fit into the greater courtly scene at Hampton Court, working in concert with the masques and dramas performed there to promote a particular image of the king. I examine how the function of the *Triumphs* changed as subsequent rulers occupied the palace, especially during the reign of William and Mary, when drastic changes were made to the palace. This study of the role of the *Triumphs of Caesar* in England over a period of two centuries allows for a better understanding of the functional changes associated with the move from the lively court of Mantua to the formal walls of Hampton Court Palace.

IV. Contribution to Scholarship

The research I have undertaken offers important contributions to the art historical scholarship on Mantegna and the Gonzaga, court culture, and collecting practices. The

possibility that the series may have been commissioned by Federico, who is less well understood than his father or son, provides additional insight into his intentions as a ruler. We know that, with the Domus Nova, Federico was attempting to shape Mantua into a more modern city, abandoning the medieval structures where the Gonzaga had previously lived. With the *Triumphs*, Federico would have had a modern series of paintings to match his new palace, one that drew on older traditions but was, in many ways, quite original. The *Triumphs* would convey the might of the Gonzaga as military leaders, while also expressing their more learned and humanist side. That a series as significant as the *Triumphs* was ultimately used for theater and other ephemeral events indicates both the importance of such performances within the court culture of Mantua, and the popularity of the painting itself. The acquisition of the *Triumphs* by Charles I, its retainment by Oliver Cromwell, and its continued respect and praise by later monarchs—despite a general preference towards High Renaissance art and more modern, Baroque styles—offers further enlightenment regarding the tastes of English rulers and their courts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

This dissertation proposes a new reading of the history of the fascinating *Triumphs of Caesar*, recontextualizing this masterpiece within its two homes—the court of the Gonzaga and the halls of the English monarchy. I argue that the painting was created by Mantegna and his patron, Federico Gonzaga, with the sole purpose of visually transforming a specific space, while promoting the Gonzaga family as great military leaders and cultured patrons of the arts. Over the following years, however, the series moved to a variety of different locations across Mantua and was used in new ways,

including as a backdrop for theater. Eventually, the *Triumphs* was acquired by King Charles I and at Hampton Court Palace it took on several new roles—everything from serving as a talking point for English nobles "taking a turn" in the Long Gallery to covering unfashionable murals in the Drawing Room.

Ultimately, however, the *Triumphs of Caesar* did inherently function as Mantegna and Federico Gonzaga had intended, despite a variety of unforeseen and perhaps even undesired circumstances: wherever the series was displayed—be that in an outdoor theater, a newly constructed palace, a Tudor gallery, or a royal dining room—the *Triumphs* transformed the space and conveyed to all a message of the power, strength, erudition, and legitimacy of its owner.

Chapter One
Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar*: Iconography and Source Material

This chapter provides a description of the *Triumphs of Caesar* and a discussion of triumphs in antiquity and during the Renaissance, in addition to addressing the topic of literary and visual sources. Each of the nine canvases represents a different phase of Julius Caesar's triumphal procession, filled with seemingly accurate historical detail. Mantegna likely consulted both ancient and contemporary written sources when designing the iconography of the series, and may have also utilized visual guides, such as classical reliefs. This chapter explores those various sources, considering the texts and visual resources to which Mantegna would have had exposure and access. It also outlines the general format of an ancient Roman triumph, and its reinterpretation during the Renaissance. The chapter opens with a brief biography of the artist. As he was a recognized intellectual with a known interest in classical antiquity, consideration will also be given to Mantegna's own role in developing the iconography in the *Triumphs*, exploring the possibility that it may have been the artist himself who proposed the theme for the series. It will be argued that the novelty of the painting—its strictly classical nature and lack of contemporary imagery or reference to the Gonzaga patrons—set it apart from other fifteenth-century depictions of triumphs, and would have greatly impressed all who saw the series at the Palazzo Ducale in Mantua, and those who knew the series only through prints.

I. Biography of Mantegna

Andrea Mantegna (figure 1.1) was born in late 1430 or 1431, likely in the small town of Isola di Carturo, north of Padua. His father was a master carpenter and his brother Tommaso worked as a tailor. Around age 11, the young Andrea entered the workshop of the painter Francesco Squarcione in Padua. Squarcione had a number of pupils whom he instructed with the aid of his large collection of classical sculptures and casts, drawings, and copies after works by famous artists.[1] This early exposure to classical art and motifs had a strong impact on the development of Mantegna's personal style. The artist was also influenced by the work of Giotto and Donatello (who worked in Padua in the 1440s), and by some Flemish styles that were making their way into Italy through Venice.[2] From an early age and continuing throughout his life, Mantegna displayed an interest in the art and history of the ancient world. As we shall see, in the *Triumphs of Caesar*, his first strictly classical painting, Mantegna was finally able to express his antiquarian side, producing a series of nine canvases filled with historical detail.

Mantegna's apprenticeship with Squarcione ended in 1448 and he spent the next decade working on various projects in Padua and Verona, cities that afforded exposure to ancient monuments. In 1453, Mantegna married Nicolosia Bellini, daughter of painter

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[1] Ronald Lightbown, *Mantegna: With a Complete Catalogue of the Paintings, Drawings and Prints* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 15 and Nike Bätzner, *Andrea Mantegna, 1430/31-1506* (Köln: Könemann Verlagsgesellschaft mbH, 1998), 6.

[2] Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 25-26 and Anthony Blunt, *Andrea Mantegna: The Triumph of Caesar* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1975), 6. Rogier van der Weyden, for example, travelled to Rome in 1450 and also did work in Ferrara, to which Mantegna may have been exposed when he visited the city to paint a portrait of Leonello d'Este.

Jacopo Bellini and sister of Gentile and Giovanni Bellini.[3] In 1456, Lodovico II Gonzaga invited Mantegna to Mantua, to serve as court artist. By January 1457, Mantegna had accepted—only after Lodovico had improved his offer—and moved to the city in August 1460, where he remained for the rest of his life.[4] Lodovico and Mantegna had similar antiquarian and intellectual interests (which are reflected in Mantegna's work on the *Triumphs of Caesar*). It is possible the two men developed a friendship; certainly, they seem to have worked well together as patron and artist. Mantegna received special treatment, including gifts of land and titles, though his salary was erratic.[5] Status was important to Mantegna. His *all'antica* style house, in a prestigious neighborhood on land given to him by the Gonzaga, helped realize this desire, as did the noble title he received in 1469.[6] Mantegna continued to function as court artist under Lodovico's successor, Federico I (ruled 1478-1484), and then under Francesco II, who was marquis at the time of Mantegna's death in 1506.

Mantegna's time in Mantua is well documented. He worked on a number of prestigious commissions for the Gonzaga family, with the most significant being the

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[3] Caroline Campbell, "A Tale of Two Artists and Two Cities: Mantegna, Bellini; Padua, Venice," in *Mantegna & Bellini*, ed. Caroline Campbell, et al. (London: National Gallery Company, 2018), 26 and W. Ormsby Gore, *The Triumph of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna in the Orangery at Hampton Court* (London: Printed for the Lord Chamberlain, 1935), 2. For more on the relationship between Mantegna and the Bellini family, see the National Gallery exhibition catalog, Caroline Campbell, et al., *Mantegna & Bellini* (London: National Gallery Company, 2018).

[4] Bätzner, *Mantegna*, 38 and Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 65.

[5] Evelyn Welch, *Art and Society in Italy 1350-1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 121. Mantegna was constantly having to write to the Gonzaga, asking for his pay.

[6] Molly Bourne, "The Art of Diplomacy: Mantua and the Gonzaga, 1328-1630," in *The Court Cities of Northern Italy: Milan, Parma, Piacenza, Mantua, Ferrara, Bologna, Urbino, Pesaro, and Rimini*, ed. Charles M. Rosenberg (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 158 and Martin Warnke, *The Court Artist: On the Ancestry of the Modern Artist*, trans. David McLintock (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 57. Mantegna's house is discussed in detail in chapter two.

Triumphs of Caesar. One of the artist's first projects for the Gonzaga, destroyed in the second half of the sixteenth century, was the private chapel in the Castello di San Giorgio, a building within the sprawling Palazzo Ducale complex that Lodovico was converting into a residential space. Mantegna's next major commission, also executed for Lodovico in the Castello, was the Camera Picta, or Camera degli Sposi (figures 1.2 and 1.3). This massive undertaking required almost a decade to complete, and was finally finished in 1474. These early projects are significant as they demonstrate that, from the start, the Gonzaga family was tasking Mantegna with creating permanent decorations for their domestic spaces, a tradition that I argue continued with the *Triumphs of Caesar*.

As a court artist, Mantegna was not allowed to take outside commissions without the permission of the Gonzaga family. One of the few occasions on which Mantegna was away from Mantua for an extended period was for a trip to Rome, from 1488 to 1490: the Gonzaga had agreed to loan the artist to Pope Innocent VIII, for whom he decorated the chapel in the Villa Belvedere.[7] In Mantua, Mantegna's role as court artist consisted of a number of activities, including the provision of antiquarian advice and restoration of antiquities.[8] Alongside the more prestigious projects of the Camera Picta and *Triumphs of Caesar*, Mantegna designed wall hangings, statues, tableware, and temporary decorations for festivals.[9] As a court artist, Mantegna was not required to join a guild,

[7] Caroline Elam, "Mantegna at Mantua," in *Splendours of the Gonzaga*, ed. David Chambers and Jane Martineau (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1981), 17 and 22.
[8] Luke Syson, "Bertoldo di Giovanni, Republican Court Artist," in *Artistic Exchange and Cultural Translation in the Italian Renaissance City*, ed. Stephen J. Campbell and Stephen J. Milner (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 102.
[9] Bourne, "Art of Diplomacy," 158 and Bätzner, *Mantegna*, 43.

and thus was not limited to only working in certain mediums, enabling him to design window frames, tapestries, and silver, among other things.[10]

Mantegna, a collector of classical art, was known for being a humanist and antiquarian, and enjoyed a number of intellectual acquaintances. Mantegna's interest in history and the classical world, which began while studying under Squarcione, was fed by his circle of friends, particularly the philosopher Giovanni Marcanova, with whom the artist corresponded.[11] An oft-told story about an excursion on Lago di Garda illustrates these aspects of his character. In September 1464, not long after arriving in Mantua, Mantegna seemingly embarked on a boat trip around the lake, accompanied by the artist's friend and humanist scholar, Felice Feliciano, painter Samuele da Tradate (also employed at the Gonzaga court), and Giovanni Antenoreo.[12] They explored the islands, seeking out

[10] Evelyn Lincoln, *The Invention of the Italian Renaissance Printmaker* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 29. See, for example, a tapestry of the *Annunciation* made after a design by Mantegna. Andrea Canova, "Mantegna *Invenit*," in *Mantegna: 1431-1506*, ed. Giovanni Agosti and Dominque Thiébaut (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2008), 239.

[11] Andrew Martindale, "Andrea Mantegna: Historicus et Antiquarius" (lecture presented at the University of East Anglia, December 3, 1974), 6; and Roberto Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1969), 181. An early illustration of the artist's love of the classical world can be found in his *St. Sebastian* from the late 1450s, where Mantegna has transliterated his signature into Greek. Francis Ames-Lewis, "Introduction," in *Mantegna and 15th-Century Court Culture*, ed. Francis Ames-Lewis and Anka Bednarek (London: University of London, 1993), 10. For more on Mantegna's approach to history, see Jack M. Greenstein, *Mantegna and Painting as Historical Narrative* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

[12] Keith Christiansen, "The Genius of Andrea Mantegna," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, New Series, Vol. 67, No. 2 (Fall 2009): 38-39. The identity of the last participant is not entirely clear. Giovanni Antenoreo is a pseudonym, and may refer to the architect Giovanni di Padova or to Giovanni Marcanova. Maria Faletti, "From Solomon's Temple to Hagia Sophia: A Metaphorical Journey for Andrea Mantegna," in *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean: Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence*, ed. Alina Payne (Boston: Brill, 2014), 130 and Andrew Martindale, *The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna, in the Collection of her Majesty the Queen at Hampton Court* (London: Harvey Miller, 1979), 24.

classical inscriptions and monuments. Feliciano recorded the ancient inscriptions the group found and later wrote about their excursion.[13]

Mantegna himself was a great collector of ancient art and inscriptions. It is hard to know the size of his art collection, as no surviving inventory was made at the time of his death. Four years later, however, an inventory of his son Lodovico's collection, made in 1510, recorded nine sculptures, four painted portraits, and a number of medals—some of which, at least, Lodovico presumably inherited from his father.[14] Mantegna was able to elevate his status, and place himself on the same level as his noble acquaintances, partly through his art collection and intellectual pursuits. Many others in his circle also collected antiquities and plaster casts, including Mantegna's brother-in-law Giovanni Bellini.[15] When Lorenzo de' Medici visited Mantua in 1483, Mantegna showed off his own collection to the Florentine, suggesting the high quality of the works in the artist's possession.[16] Mantegna's interest in antiquity was heightened during his stay in Rome from 1488 to 1490, where he made drawings after the Column of Trajan and acquired additions to his collection, notably a marble bust of Faustina (figure 1.4).[17]

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[13] Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 95-96.
[14] Guido Rebecchini, *Private Collectors in Mantua, 1500-1630* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2002), 215.
[15] Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 151 and Weiss, *Renaissance Discovery*, 182, note 1.
[16] Joseph Manca, *Andrea Mantegna and the Italian Renaissance* (New York: Parkstone Press, International, 2006), 119.
[17] Ames-Lewis, "Introduction," 13 and Rebecchini, *Private Collectors*, 214. The bust was later sold to Isabella d'Este in 1506, to help Mantegna cover the debts from building his house. Isabella herself was a great collector of ancient art. By the early sixteenth century, the Gonzaga owned at least three busts of Faustina. One, now in the Royal Collection, is displayed at Hampton Court Palace alongside the *Triumphs of Caesar*—this may or may not be the bust originally owned by Mantegna. Weiss, *Renaissance Discovery*, 182 and 197 and Barbara Furlotti, "Faustina the Younger," in *Charles I: King and Collector*, ed. Per Rumberg and Desmond Shawe-Taylor (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2018), 236.

II. Materials, Techniques, and Restorations

The *Triumphs of Caesar* was painted in either distemper or egg tempera paint on canvas. Canvas was being used more frequently in Italy, particularly in the north, as the fifteenth century progressed. It was, however, still an uncommon choice for large-scale palatial decorations, which were more commonly executed in fresco.[18] Mantegna seems to have had a particular penchant for canvas, utilizing it frequently throughout his career from the beginning; he is the first Italian artist for whom more works survive on canvas than on panel.[19] The particular material used for the *Triumphs* is a medium twill canvas.[20] The original overhang (that extended over the wooden stretchers) has since been cut off, and the canvases themselves were later relined.[21]

The exact medium used by Mantegna in painting the *Triumphs* is unclear. Previous scholarship suggested Mantegna predominantly used distemper—also known as glue-size, a type of paint that utilized animal skin glue—with a thin layer of gesso below.[22] However, samples analyzed by the National Gallery in 1974 indicated the presence of egg tempera, and the recent exhibition catalog from that museum lists the medium as egg tempera.[23] The chemical properties of distemper are not entirely

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[18] This topic shall be discussed in greater depth in chapter two.
[19] Jill Dunkerton, "Mantegna's painting techniques," in *Mantegna and 15th-Century Court Culture*, ed. Francis Ames-Lewis and Anka Bednarek (London: University of London, 1993), 26 and Jill Dunkerton and Babette Hartwieg, "Mantegna and Bellini: Contrasting Approaches to Technique," in *Mantegna & Bellini*, ed. Caroline Campbell, et al. (London: National Gallery Company, 2018), 51.
[20] Andrew Rothe, "Mantegna's Paintings in Distemper," in *Andrea Mantegna*, ed. Jane Martineau (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), 84.
[21] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 125.
[22] Rothe, "Mantegna's Paintings," 80 and 84.
[23] Dunkerton and Hartwieg, "Mantegna and Bellini," 64 and 268, note 33 and Dunkerton, "Mantegna's techniques," 37. The website for the Royal Collection simply lists the medium as "tempera" and I have followed that convention.

understood, and there can be a great degree of variation; it can thus be challenging to distinguish between distemper and egg tempera. With the *Triumphs* in particular, it is difficult to surmise an accurate picture, as the canvases have been heavily restored and repainted over the years, in addition to being varnished and relined, and still today retain some old oils and waxes.[24]

The use of distemper by an artist resulted in brilliant, opaque colors and, as the surfaces were typically left unvarnished, could be viewed under any lighting condition without worry of reflections. Overall, distemper produces a more matte appearance, like fresco.[25] Though distemper was commonly used for processional banners and the like, Mantegna was unique in frequently utilizing the medium for other types of paintings. Many of his works seem to have been executed in distemper, or to have some characteristics of distemper. Five of these paintings were never varnished and thus retain their original brilliance, most notably the *Ecce Homo* from circa 1500 at the Musée Jacquemart-André in Paris (figure 1.5). Another work that was seemingly never varnished is the artist's *Dead Christ* (figure 1.6), a painting that demonstrates Mantegna's genius in employing unusual perspectives, seen also in the oculus of the Camera Picta and, of course, the *Triumphs of Caesar*.[26]

[24] Rothe, "Mantegna's Paintings," 80-81 and 84.
[25] Rothe, "Mantegna's Paintings," 80 and Dunkerton, "Mantegna's techniques," 31.
[26] Rothe, "Mantegna's Paintings," 80-81. *Dead Christ* dates from the mid-1470s and is today in the Pinacoteca di Brera, in Milan. The other three unvarnished paintings seemingly in distemper by Mantegna are: *Madonna and Child* (ca. 1475, Accademia Carrara, Bergamo), *Judith with the Head of Holofernes* (ca. 1495-1500, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin), and *Judgment of Solomon* (ca. 1500, Musée du Louvre, Paris).

When working in egg tempera, Mantegna often did varnish his canvases: for example, with the two paintings Mantegna produced for the *studiolo* of Isabella d'Este—*Parnassus* and *Minerva Expelling the Vices from the Garden of Virtue* (figures 1.7 and 1.8)—efforts were made to acquire superior varnishes from Venice for the artist's use. Those works that were done in egg tempera and varnished would have had a rich, brilliant appearance (though over the centuries, many have lost their original luster).[27]

All of the canvases of the *Triumphs of the Caesar*—with the exception of number VII, which remains in the worst condition—were measured in advance of Andrew Martindale's 1979 catalog: though there is some slight variation in size, the average height is 270 centimeters and the average width is 280 centimeters.[28] (Roughly then, the paintings measure nine feet by nine feet, all slightly wider than they are tall.) As looms at the time were unable to produce canvas wider than about 100 centimeters, each painting in the *Triumphs* is made up of three vertical strips, two large and one narrow, sewn together.[29]

The *Triumphs of Caesar* has endured a number of attempts at conservation and restoration over the past five centuries. In the late fifteenth century, shortly after their creation, some or all of the canvases were already being used as outdoor scenery decorations, which likely inflicted damage on the delicate material.[30] It is probable that,

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[27] Dunkerton and Hartwieg, "Mantegna and Bellini," 64.
[28] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 125. These are the average measurements as given by the Royal Collection, which describes the paintings as being tempera on canvas.
[29] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 126 and Andrea Rothe and Dawson W. Carr, "The Technique of Dosso Dossi, Poetry with Paint," in *Dosso Dossi: Court Painter in Renaissance Ferrara*, ed. Andrea Bayer (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 57.
[30] Anthony Blunt, "Mantegna's 'Triumph of Caesar' at Hampton Court Palace: Report on Work in Progress," *The Burlington Magazine* Vol. 104, No. 713 (August 1962): 322.

in the early sixteenth century, when the *Triumphs* was finally permanently installed in the Palazzo San Sebastiano after Mantegna's death, members of his workshop provided necessary repairs to the canvases.[31] The earliest restorations, in the late seventeenth century, were entirely unsuccessful. The painting was likely damaged during its sea voyage from Italy to England in 1630, with the added harm of a new and unstable climate.[32] In an inventory conducted during the reign of Charles II, the painting was already listed as being "much spoiled."[33] An initial restoration was attempted by Parry Walton, starting in 1690; the process was then taken over by Louis Laguerre around 1694, who worked on the canvases until 1702.[34] Laguerre, asked to restore the painting by King William III, damaged the original paint by covering it with oil and glue.[35] This was almost immediately followed by another attempt at restoration, by Joseph Goupy in 1717.[36] Over a century later, Richard Redgrave, Surveyor of the Queen's Pictures, oversaw the glazing of the *Triumphs*, completed in 1861. At some point during the nineteenth century the canvases were relined.[37]

By the early twentieth century, the canvases—still at Hampton Court Palace, where the painting was first installed after its arrival in England—were in a bad state.

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[31] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 126.
[32] E. K. Waterhouse, C. H. Collins Baker, and J. MacIntyre, "Mantegna's Cartoons at Hampton Court," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* Vol. 64, No. 372 (March 1934): 107 and Thomas Arlt, *Andrea Mantegna, Triumph Caesars: Ein Meisterwerk der Renaissance in neuem Licht* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2005), 58.
[33] Blunt, "Mantegna's 'Triumph'," 322.
[34] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 126 and Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 424.
[35] Renata Cipriani, *All the Paintings of Andrea Mantegna*, trans. Paul Colacicchi (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1963), 80 and Blunt, "Mantegna's 'Triumph'," 322.
[36] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 126.
[37] Brett Dolman, "Curating the Royal Collection at Hampton Court Palace in the nineteenth century," *Journal of the History of Collections* Vol. 29, No. 2 (2017): 280 and Blunt, "Mantegna's 'Triumph'," 322.

Starting in 1910, Roger Fry attempted to restore the series, but did not progress very far. He abandoned the project by 1921, with his efforts largely criticized.[38] In the early 1930s, Kennedy North worked on the *Triumphs*. It was at this time that the old gilt frames were discarded and the canvases were reinstalled, without glass, in the Lower Orangery at Hampton Court Palace (figures 1.9 and 1.10).[39] (The painting was first placed in the Orangery in 1921 and remains on view there today.) Prior to its re-display and opening to the public in 1934, the *Triumphs* was mounted on heavier canvas.[40] North deglazed the painting, but then varnished it with layers of wax that quickly became opaque, obscuring the imagery.[41]

Finally, the *Triumphs* underwent a mostly-successful restoration between 1962 and 1974, led by conservator John Brealey, who had been engaged by Anthony Blunt, Surveyor of the Queen's Pictures. Brealey and his team were able to successfully remove the wax applied by North.[42] Through this process, and the removal of other layers of repainting, it was found that much of Mantegna's original paint survives, though canvas VII, the *Captives*, was not restored as it retained almost none of its original paint. The canvases at this time, with the exception of number IV, were also relined.[43] When the

[38] Blunt, "Mantegna's 'Triumph'," 322. One example of Fry's "restoration" was repainting the face of a black figure in canvas I as white. Mary Beard, *The Roman Triumph* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 158.
[39] Blunt, "Mantegna's 'Triumph'," 322; Oliver Millar, *The Triumph of Caesar: A Series of Nine Paintings by Andrea Mantegna* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1960), 7; and Gore, *Triumph*, 6.
[40] Andrew Martindale, "The Triumphs of Caesar," in *Splendours of the Gonzaga*, ed. David Chambers and Jane Martineau (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1981), 142.
[41] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 9.
[42] Blunt, "Mantegna's 'Triumph'," 32.
[43] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 9-10 and 19 and Anthony Blunt, "A Project for Restoring Mantegna's 'Triumph of Caesar'," *The Burlington Magazine* Vol. 106, No. 732 (March 1964): 126.

painting returned to view in the 1970s, it was displayed with gold frames, not pilasters.[44] Changes to the display of the *Triumphs* was made in the 1990s and 2000s, including removal of the gilt frames and installation of pilasters.[45] The *Triumphs* is currently displayed in the Orangery as it was in the early sixteenth century in the Palazzo San Sebastiano in Mantua, with pilasters between the canvases.[46] As a whole, the paintings are now in a stable state and good general condition, with the exception of canvas VII, which had been completely repainted in the eighteenth century.[47]

III. Subject

The *Triumphs of Caesar* depicts the ancient Roman spectacle known as a triumph, a procession that was awarded by the Senate to military leaders in celebration of victories abroad. Julius Caesar, who acted as ruler of the Roman state from 49 to 44 BCE, was granted five triumphs by the Roman Senate. Here we apparently see one of those parades; the title of Mantegna's work should, therefore, rightly be the *Triumph of Caesar*, but it has always been known in the plural, as the *Triumphs* or the *Trionfi* (or, perhaps the plural form of the title indicates that multiple triumphs are being depicted).

To be awarded a triumph in antiquity was a great honor, and more than 300 were performed over the centuries. The procession was a military parade, but above all was a

[44] Blunt, *Mantegna*, 24. This decision was made for practical reasons: the *Triumphs* was hung at a slight angle, so as to prevent a reflection, and there was no way to adequately present the pilasters in that arrangement.
[45] Conversation with Brett Dolman, Curator (Collections), Historic Royal Palaces, October 5, 2017.
[46] In fact, the pilasters at Hampton Court Palace separating the paintings are based on ones now in the Palazzo Ducale in Mantua, thought to be the original pilasters from San Sebastiano, moved there in the early seventeenth century.
[47] Ettore Camesasca, *Mantegna*, trans. Susan Madocks Lister (New York: Scala, 1992), 59.

religious rite, culminating in sacrifices to the gods, giving thanks for victory. Triumphs also functioned as a form of propaganda, providing entertainment for the people and displaying all the wealth acquired through foreign conquests, while justifying the great expenses associated with military campaigns. The procession itself followed a somewhat fixed route through Rome, starting outside the city in the Campus Martius, progressing through the Circus Maximus, around the Palatine Hill, across the length of the Forum Romanum, up the Capitoline Hill, and eventually culminating at the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.[48] Those marching in the triumph followed a prescribed order. At the start were the magistrates and senators, followed by the trumpeters, the spoils of war (including captive prisoners), and priests leading oxen to be sacrificed. Next came the triumphator himself, seated on a chariot pulled by four horses, then lictors, dancers, and singers, Roman citizens who had been freed from slavery, and finally the returning soldiers.[49] While there may have been some variation, in general the procession would be divided into three broad groups: the spoils of war (objects and people), the triumphator, and the army.[50]

We can see that Mantegna follows this prescribed order, to a degree, though only a small part of the total procession is shown. The first seven canvases all feature the spoils of war, in canvas VIII we find the musicians and, finally, we see Julius Caesar

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[48] Margaret Ann Zaho, *Imago Triumphalis: The Function and Significance of Triumphal Imagery for Italian Renaissance Rulers* (New York: Peter Lang, 2004), 14-15. There is debate amongst scholars over whether triumphal processions always followed a specific route or if there was some variation. See Maggie L. Popkin, *The Architecture of the Roman Triumph: Monuments, Memory, and Identity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 6 and 24.
[49] Zaho, *Imago*, 16 and Peter J. Holliday, *The Origins of Roman Historical Commemoration in the Visual Arts* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 27.
[50] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 63.

himself in canvas IX. A drawing exists for a tenth scene that was never executed, commonly known as the *Senators*, but more likely meant to portray the secretaries and aides who would have walked behind Caesar (figure 1.11).[51] Missing from Mantegna's version are the Roman citizens and soldiers who would have brought up the rear of the procession. The specific iconography found in each of the canvases shall be discussed shortly.

It is unknown how many canvases Mantegna intended to paint. As shall be addressed in greater depth in the next chapter, the circumstances surrounding the commission of the *Triumphs* are unclear. The final series has nine paintings, which may have always been Mantegna's intention. It is also possible that the project began with only a few scenes in mind and then grew over time, or that Mantegna hoped to paint many more scenes but was unable to complete the sequence. There are a number of explanations for why the series may have been left unfinished: Mantegna's patron may have become frustrated with the lengthy project, there may not have been a suitable location to display so many canvases, or the artist may have become occupied with other commissions. The existence of the drawing the *Senators* suggests Mantegna did at least consider painting additional scenes, placing Caesar more toward the center of the series. It is somewhat odd to have the procession end with Caesar, the most important person in the triumph, who should rightly be followed by admiring crowds and the army.[52]

[51] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 66.
[52] Bätzner, *Mantegna*, 81.

Though Mantegna mostly places his figures in the expected order, he does not situate them in the appropriate landscape. There were specific monuments the ancient triumphal route passed that the artist could have included in the background, but elected to omit. (The decaying monuments that are featured are rather anachronistic.) This is not the first time that Mantegna had created a somewhat fantastical cityscape: the architecture seen in the background of the wall frescoes of the Camera Picta bears little resemblance to any actual buildings in Mantua (figure 1.12).[53] Mantegna may have felt that the inclusion of too many ancient monuments would clutter the scenes, or prove distracting. As a whole, the paintings do have a sense of unity, through Mantegna's use of color, repetition, and consistent lighting, though there are some distinctions between the backgrounds of the three groups of canvases (that is canvas I to III, IV to VI, and VII to IX).[54] The viewer sees the scene from slightly below, and with the original pilasters dividing the nine canvases, the effect would be as though one was viewing the procession from under a loggia.[55]

Finally, there is the question of which of Julius Caesar's five triumphs Mantegna's series is meant to represent. It seems that Mantegna has chiefly conflated

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[53] Andrew Martindale, *Painting the Palace: Studies in the History of Medieval Secular Painting* (London: The Pindar Press, 1995), 20.

[54] Some scholars see the division of the canvases into three groups of three as evidence that the series was intended to be displayed around three walls of a room. See, for example, Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 147.

[55] Christopher Lloyd, *Andrea Mantegna: The Triumphs of Caesar* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1991), 19. Though most scholars agree that each painting was separated from its neighbor by a pilaster, likely with an additional pilaster at either end of the series (thus ten in total), Caroline Karpinski argues there were only ever six pilasters, those reproduced in the prints of Andrea Andreani in 1598. Karpinski posits that Mantegna intended certain canvases to be grouped episodically, with a pilaster separating I and II, between III and IV, VI and VII, and VII and VIII, along with at the start and end of the procession. See Caroline Karpinski, "Mantegna's *Triumphs* in Andreani's Form," *Apollo* Vol. 153, No. 472 (June 2001): 44.

two of Caesar's triumphs, those awarded for his victories in Gaul and Pontus in Asia Minor, while also borrowing details from the triumphs of other men entirely.[56] The flag in canvas IX with the phrase "Veni, Vidi, Vici" is described by Suetonius in his description of Caesar's Pontic triumph (figure 1.13).[57] However, Suetonius states that the Gallic triumph was the most impressive, drawing huge crowds, and featuring elephants with torches on their backs, as seen in canvas V.[58] The inscriptions found in canvas II also refer to Caesar's Gallic triumph, held in 46 BCE (figure 1.14).[59] It may be that the series was not intended to accurately depict a specific triumph, but rather a conflation of two or more, representing Caesar's brilliant military career as a whole. Though some ancient triumphs are well documented, comparatively little was written about Caesar's Gallic triumph, nor are there are any known ancient visual representations of the procession.[60] This allowed Mantegna to be inventive, drawing inspiration from a variety of sources, to be discussed below.

As to why Mantegna elected to paint a triumph of Julius Caesar, and not another Roman general, the simple answer is that Caesar was regarded, during antiquity and the

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[56] Lloyd, *Mantegna*, 15.
[57] Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 144. As Lightbown explains, this phrase—implying a quick victory—could not apply to the Gallic wars, which lasted ten years.
[58] Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 144; Anthony S. Halliday, "The Literary Sources of Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar*," in *The Court of the Gonzaga in the Age of Mantegna, 1450-1550*, ed. Cesare Mozzarelli, Robert Oresko, and Leandro Ventura (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1997), 187; and Peter J. Holliday, "Roman Triumphal Painting: Its Function, Development, and Reception," *The Art Bulletin* Vol. 79, No. 1 (March 1997): 144.
[59] Martindale, "Historicus," 5.
[60] Caroline Elam, "Les *Triomphes* de Mantegna: La Forme et la Vie," in *Mantegna: 1431-1506*, ed. Giovanni Agosti and Dominque Thiébaut (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2008), 364. Though little was written about the Gallic triumph, a great deal is known about the war itself, as Caesar wrote his own first-hand account of the battles, the *Commentarii de Bello Gallico*. An inventory of the library of Gianfrancesco Gonzaga (third son of Lodovico) at the time of his death in 1496 included copies of Caesar's *Commentaries*. David S. Chambers, "A Condottiere and His Books: Gianfrancesco Gonzaga (1446-96)," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* Vol. 70 (2007): 82

time of the Gonzaga, as one of the greatest military leaders to ever have lived. The Renaissance saw a strong general interest in Julius Caesar, who was admired even more than Alexander the Great, as both a military leader and as an emperor.[61] There may, however, be an additional level of meaning. A few decades prior to Mantegna's work on the series, in the 1440s, the humanist Guarino da Verona advised Leonello d'Este, Marquis of Ferrara, to follow the model of Julius Caesar in his governing style. Certain other humanists, such as the Florentine Poggio Bracciolini, viewed Caesar's political rule in a more negative light, as he was responsible for the demise of the Roman Republic. The Gonzaga, who were close allies with Ferrara, may have wanted to demonstrate their agreement with the Este on this matter.[62] On the whole, Caesar was viewed as an appropriate role model and fitting subject for palatial decorations, especially for a family such as the Gonzaga, who earned their fortune as soldiers.[63]

IV. Iconography

Turning now to the specific imagery in Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar*, the painting, with a total surface area of almost 70 square meters, is filled with detailed iconography. Past scholars have done an admirable job breaking down this excess of information, analyzing aspects of armor, weapons, landscape and architectural backgrounds, and so forth. Martindale in particular, in his catalog, categorizes the

[61] Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 142.
[62] Guido Rebecchini, "The Triumph of Caesar," in *Charles I: King and Collector*, ed. Per Rumberg and Desmond Shawe-Taylor (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2018), 238.
[63] Charles Hope, "The Triumphs of Caesar," in *Andrea Mantegna*, ed. Jane Martineau (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), 356.

different costumes, architecture, and inscriptions found in the series, along with other details.[64] It will suffice here to give a brief overview of the imagery found in each individual canvas.

As was just elaborated, the general subject is that of one—or a conflation of more than one—of Julius Caesar's triumphal processions through ancient Rome; Mantegna, however, has depicted only part of this triumph, leaving out certain elements. He perhaps has strayed most greatly from historical accuracy with his depiction of the background. Namely, actual triumphs began outside the city and then wound their way inward, whereas in Mantegna's painting, we see the greatest number of buildings in the final canvases and a landscape background in the earlier scenes, as if the procession were leaving the city.[65] For the most part, the composition continues smoothly between the paintings, as though processing behind the pilasters that were intended for their display. Though some details are not strictly accurate, overall the series attempts to be a historical representation of an ancient triumph. It is worth emphasizing that there are no contemporary portraits or specific allusions to the Gonzaga in the *Triumphs*. The few details that may refer to the Gonzaga, such as the imperial eagle, which the Gonzaga had been granted to use in their coat of arms by Emperor Sigismund, are not specific to any one person, or indeed to the Gonzaga family in general.[66]

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[64] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 130-160.
[65] Martindale, "Historicus," 10.
[66] Allison Cole, *Italian Renaissance Courts: Art, Pleasure and Power* (London: Lawrence King Publishing, 2016), 181. There does seem to be a heraldic device in canvas VII, but the colors have darkened over time and the emblem cannot be linked to any known Gonzaga device. Martindale, *Triumphs*, 60, note 3.

Canvas I, the *Picture Bearers* (figure 0.1), starts off the procession.[67] Roman triumphs frequently included images of conquered cities, often in the form of *tabulae* (large wooden panels) or *pegmata* (processional floats); Mantegna has reinterpreted this as images on painted banners.[68] This scene is sometimes referred to as the *Trumpeters*, due to the prominent position of the musicians at the start. It is intriguing to note Mantegna's decision to place this scene, with the painted banners so similar to his own series of canvases, at the start of the procession, perhaps a self-referential nod to his own work.

The procession continues into canvas II, *Bearers of Standards and Siege Equipment* (figure 0.2), in which we find carts (more Renaissance than ancient in appearance) carrying statues, models of captured cities, and siege equipment.[69] The identities of the large statues are uncertain: they may be Jupiter and Juno, with the bust in the foreground representing Cybele or Fortuna.[70] This scene includes an inscription referencing Caesar's Gallic conquest. This painting is also known as the *Triumphal Carts*.

Continuing on in a similar fashion, we have the *Bearers of Trophies and Bullion* in canvas III (figure 0.3), frequently shortened to simply the *Trophy Bearers*. We find here the captured weapons of the enemy, displayed as trophies—though the armor is not Gallic in nature as it would be were this Caesar's triumph after his victory in Gaul. The

[67] There is a great variety in how the paintings are titled. Here, and throughout, I will use the current titles assigned by the Royal Collection, while also providing commonly used short-hand names for the works.
[68] Beard, *Roman Triumph*, 157 and Holliday, "Roman Triumphal," 134.
[69] Hope, "Triumphs," 359.
[70] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 138 and Hope, "Triumphs," 359.

vases are also not strictly historically accurate, but instead provide a general sense of the antique.[71]

The fourth painting, the *Vase Bearers* (figure 0.4), is the best preserved of the series, with most of Mantegna's original sky still intact.[72] We see here more loot—a mixture of ancient and Renaissance—and, at the right, the oxen to be sacrificed at the end of the ceremony.[73] Unlike the first three canvases, which have no background other than sky, here we see a landscape with generic ancient structures. In this aspect Mantegna takes his greatest artistic liberties, as the structures do not correspond with any actual buildings from ancient Rome.[74]

Next, in the middle of the series, is the *Elephants* (figure 0.5). The torches on the back of the elephants are described by Suetonius as having been an element of Caesar's Gallic triumph. In addition to the elephants we also find more trumpeters and animals to be sacrificed.[75]

Canvas VI brings the *Corselet Bearers* (figure 0.6). The background, here again, is not accurate (and seemingly was not included at all in original plans), and the landscape differs slightly from the previous canvas—switching from a rocky outcrop to leafy vegetation—possibly due to canvases having been removed from Mantegna's studio and taken to a different site as they were completed. The spoils being carried in this scene include more coins, plates, and armor. The armor is particularly noteworthy, for it

[71] Hope, "Triumphs," 361.
[72] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 145.
[73] Beard, *Roman Triumph*, 155.
[74] Hope, "Triumphs," 363.
[75] Halliday, "Literary," 187; Martindale, *Triumphs*, 147; and Hope, "Triumphs," 365.

is divided at the waist, something that was not done in antiquity or during the Renaissance. However, stage armor was created in this manner to allow actors greater movement, which is perhaps the source of Mantegna's imagery.[76]

Canvas VII, the *Captives* (figure 0.7), as noted earlier, is in the worst state of preservation, with almost none of Mantegna's original paint having survived. Here we see captives being led by soldiers, accompanied by buffoons. The architecture at the right, namely the pyramid, resembles some structures from ancient Rome, but not any one specific monument. The large building at the left is more confusing: while some interpret it to be a prison, Martindale opined it was more likely intended to stand for the Temple of Janus.[77]

The triumph continues with the *Musicians* in canvas VIII (figure 0.8). The figures in this scene have been heavily repainted, but the busts are well-preserved. Men are seen carrying *tychai*, personifications of cities, including one representing Rome with the S.P.Q.R. banner.[78] We also find a shift from the urban background in canvas VII to a more rural landscape here.

The final scene is that of *Caesar on his Chariot* (figure 0.9). It is in this painting that we see the inscription "Veni, Vidi, Vici," referring not to Caesar's Gallic triumph, but to his Pontic triumph.[79] The chariot is not at all classical; it appears instead to have been modeled on the types of carts used in Renaissance triumphal processions. Other

[76] Hope, "Triumphs," 367. Connections between the *Triumphs of Caesar* and theater will be discussed at length in chapter three.
[77] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 153 and Hope, "Triumphs," 367.
[78] Hope, "Triumphs," 369.
[79] Hope, "Triumphs," 371.

details, such as the children holding branches, are not found in classical descriptions of triumphs.[80] The triumphal arch does not resemble any monument found in Rome, though bears some similarities to an ancient arch in Padua.[81] These various classical inconsistences are not necessarily due to ignorance on the part of Mantegna, but may be intentional examples of artistic liberty. Mantegna was trying to create the general feel and impression of an ancient triumph, not a perfectly accurate reproduction of a historical event.

V. Drawings, Prints, and Copies

Before turning to the important topic of Mantegna's visual and literary sources for the *Triumphs*, a brief discussion of the prints and drawings associated with the series is offered. Many scholars believe that Mantegna likely planned the whole cycle in drawings before he began painting.[82] Some of these drawings are now known to us through engravings or drawn copies after the originals. Until recently, only one preparatory drawing by Mantegna for the *Triumphs* was believed to have survived, and its authorship is debated.[83] This drawing is now in the Musée du Louvre, and shows the

[80] Hope, "Triumphs," 371.
[81] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 157; Hope, "Triumphs," 371; and Roy Strong, *Splendour at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and Illusion* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973), 31-32.
[82] See, for example, Elam, "Mantegna," 22; Lloyd, *Mantegna*, 17; E. Tietze-Conrat, *Mantegna: Paintings, Drawings, Engravings* (London: Phaidon Press, 1955), 23; and David Ekserdjian, "The Trophy Bearers," in *Andrea Mantegna*, ed. Jane Martineau (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), 373.
[83] Martindale writes that he does not believe the drawing to be a copy (see Martindale, *Triumphs*, 163) and David Ekserdjian, in the 1992 Metropolitan Museum of Art catalog, also offered the opinion that the drawing is an autograph work by Mantegna (see Ekserdjian, "Trophy Bearers," 373). Caroline Elam in the 2008 catalog from the Musée du Louvre, though, lists the drawing as "atelier d'Andrea Mantegna" (see Caroline Elam, "*Joueurs de trompettes, porteurs d'étendards et bannières*," in *Mantegna: 1431-1506*, ed. Giovanni Agosti and Dominque Thiébaut (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2008), 382).

figures in canvas I (figure 1.15). Here we find the inscriptions "Gallia C." and "Gallia capta," indicting that the subject is Caesar's Gallic triumph.[84] The drawing is particularly pertinent for it includes the outline of columns, seemingly indicating that, from the start, the *Triumphs* was intended to be installed in a permanent location, with each scene separated from its neighbor by pilasters.

A second significant drawing, from a private collection, was recently discovered and exhibited in the National Gallery show "Mantegna & Bellini." This drawing, titled *A Roman Triumph* and done in pen and ink on paper (figure 1.16), is described by the curators of the show as a work by the artist's hand, similar in style to other drawings by Mantegna from the 1480s and 1490s. The drawing depicts canvas II, with enough differences in composition to suggest that, in the curators' words, the drawing represents a "first idea" for the scene. The skill with which the drawing has been executed indicates that it is probably an autograph work by Mantegna.[85] Likely there were many other preparatory drawings by Mantegna for the series, but none such survive.[86]

In terms of other relevant works on paper, the Albertina in Vienna houses a drawing in pen and ink of the *Trophy Bearers* (canvas III) (figure 1.17), dating from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. This (along with the other surviving drawings to be discussed) seems to be a copy after Mantegna's original drawings, not after prints.[87]

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[84] Hope, "Triumphs," 357.
[85] Sarah Vowles and Dagmar Korbacher, "Drawing Conclusions: The Graphic Work of Mantegna and Bellini," in *Mantegna & Bellini*, ed. Caroline Campbell, et al. (London: National Gallery Company, 2018), 75 and 77.
[86] Sarah Vowles and Caroline Campbell, "Mantegna, Bellini and Antiquity," in *Mantegna & Bellini*, ed. Caroline Campbell, et al. (London: National Gallery Company, 2018), 242
[87] Ekserdjian, "Trophy Bearers," 373.

Other contemporary drawings include the *Corselet Bearers* (figure 1.18), at the National Gallery of Ireland, after a drawing by Mantegna; the *Captives* (figure 1.19), at the Musée Condé, after Mantegna; the *Triumphal Chariot* (figure 1.20), at the British Museum, by an unknown artist after Mantegna in brown ink and wash; and the *Senators* (figure 1.11), also at the Albertina, previously thought to be a copy after an engraving, but now designated by Martindale as being done after a drawing by Mantegna.[88] A work in a private collection in Paris, discussed by Martindale and included in the 1992 catalog for the Mantegna exhibition at the Royal Academy of Arts and Metropolitan Museum of Art, was previously thought to be a drawing related to canvas V, the *Elephants*. However, in an article published in 1993, Suzanne Boorsch, having closely examined the object, discovered that it was, in fact, a print drawn over in pen and ink (figure 1.21).[89]

Regarding prints, seven exist, of three different scenes, seemingly based on preliminary drawings for the *Triumphs*: two of the *Elephants*, three similar to the *Corselet Bearers,* and two of the *Senators* (figures 1.22, 1.23, and 1.24).[90] For each print, a range of impressions survive, cataloged by Arthur Hind.[91] (There are no known contemporary prints or drawings associated with canvas IV or VIII.) There is debate among scholars as to what level of involvement Mantegna himself had in the production

[88] For a detailed discussion of these drawings and other works on paper after the *Triumphs*, see Martindale, *Triumphs*, 163-168.
[89] Suzanne Boorsch, ""The Elephants" after Andrea Mantegna: An Engraving Drawn Over," *Master Drawings* Vol. 31, No. 4 (Winter 1993): 368.
[90] Suzanne Boorsch, "Giovanni Antonio da Bresci, *The Elephants*," in *Andrea Mantegna*, ed. Jane Martineau (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), 375.
[91] Arthur M. Hind, *Early Italian Engravings: A Critical Catalogue with Complete Reproduction of all the Prints Described, Volume V* (London: Bernard Quaritch Ltd., 1948), 22-25. Martindale also details each of the prints and drawings in his catalog, see Martindale, *Triumphs*, 163-168.

of engravings after his drawings and paintings. Vasari tells us that Mantegna did his own engravings and that he "took delight" in "engraving figures on copper for printing, a method of truly rare value."[92] However, it is now generally accepted that the engravings after the *Triumphs* were not created by the artist himself, but were likely made under his direction.[93] The printmakers involved seem to have been Giovanni Antonio da Brescia, Giulio Campagnola, and the so-called Premier Engraver.[94] A contract related to a separate project, from 1475, shows that Mantegna hired Gian Marco Cavalli, a goldsmith, to create engravings after some of his drawings, and may have similarly contracted out the task of creating prints after the *Triumphs of Caesar*.[95]

A century later, in Mantua in 1599—having secured the commission from Duke Vincenzo I Gonzaga—Andrea Andreani published a set of chiaroscuro woodcuts of all nine of Mantegna's *Triumphs* (including a title page with a portrait of Mantegna and a sheet depicting pilaster designs) (figures 1.25 to 1.35).[96] Andreani began work on his series in 1595, basing his designs off of contemporary preparatory drawings made by Bernardino Malpizzi after Mantegna's paintings. The prints measure 36.8 by 36.8 centimeters, with each composition produced using four wood blocks.[97] Around this

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[92] Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects, Volume 1*, trans. Gaston du C. de Vere and ed. David Ekserdjian (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), 564.
[93] Caroline Elam, "*Joueurs de trompettes, jeunes garçons conduisant des boeufs, éléphants avec serviteurs*," in *Mantegna: 1431-1506*, ed. Giovanni Agosti and Dominque Thiébaut (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2008), 386.
[94] Eva Dawn Allan, "The Triumph Theme and Variations in Long Renaissance Prints" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2014), 67 and Jane Martineau, ed., *Andrea Mantegna* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), cat. 117, 118, 120, 121, 123, 126, and 127.
[95] Suzanne Boorsch, "Mantegna and Engraving: What We Know, What We Don't Know, and a Few Hypotheses," in *Andrea Mantegna: Impronta del Genio*, ed. Rodolfo Signorini, Viviana Rebonato, and Sara Tammaccaro (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2010), 417.
[96] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 103; Lloyd, *Mantegna*, 19; and Lincoln, *Invention*, 45.
[97] Karpinski, "Andreani's Form," 40.

same time the painted *Triumphs* was moved by Vincenzo from the Palazzo San Sebastiano back to the Palazzo Ducale, gaining greater visibility.[98] It was through prints, however, that the *Triumphs* became widely known, as only a small proportion of viewers ever saw the works *in situ* in Mantua (or, later, at Hampton Court Palace outside of London). Numerous sets of Andreani's series were printed in varying shades, including some hand-colored impressions.[99]

Other painted copies were also made after Mantegna's *Triumphs*. A number of small versions were created around the same time as Andreani's prints, coinciding with the move of the originals. A particularly fine example is the *grisaille* set of all nine scenes, now at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, by an unknown artist (possibly Bernardino Malpizzi) from circa 1590-1620, with each painting measuring 38 by 38 centimeters (figure 1.36).[100] Sometime in the seventeenth century a set of frescoed copies were made, possibly by Ludovico Dondi—who is known to have made a set in oil on copper after the *Triumphs* in 1602—with each scene measuring approximately 150 centimeters across (figure 1.37).[101] These paintings were rediscovered in a home in Mantua in 1926 and detached and transferred to canvas in 1936. They are today housed

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[98] Daniel Arasse, "Les Triomphes de Jules César, Andrea Mantegna et Andrea Andreani," in *Caesar Triumphans: Rotoli disegnati e xilografie cinquecentesche da una collezione private parigina*, ed. Daniel Arasse (Florence: Institut Français de Florence, 1984), 47.

[99] The Metropolitan Museum of Art houses a hand-colored set, along with an impression printed on blue silk with gold highlights.

[100] Kunsthistorisches Museum website. See also Martindale, "Historicus," 3 and Barbara Furlotti and Guido Rebecchini, "'Rare and Unique in this World': Mantegna's 'Triumph' and the Gonzaga Collection," in *Charles I: King and Collector*, ed. Per Rumberg and Desmond Shawe-Taylor (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2018), 54. Many of the copies were made for princely patrons; this particular set was done for Archduke Leopold Wilhelm. Ronald Lightbown, "Charles I and the Tradition of Princely Collecting," in *The Late King's Goods: Collections, Possessions and Patronage of Charles I in the Light of the Commonwealth Sale Inventories*, ed. Arthur MacGregor (London: Alistair McAlpine, 1989), 64.

[101] Furlotti and Rebecchini, "Rare and Unique," 54.

in the Palazzo San Sebastiano (now a museum), not far from where the originals were once displayed.[102]

VI. Mantegna's Visual and Literary Sources

In creating the iconography of the *Triumphs of Caesar*, Mantegna likely consulted a host of visual and literary sources. Mantegna had at his disposal a wide array of visual source material, namely ancient reliefs and monuments and copies after such. He would have had exposure to these resources during his early days in Padua and Verona, over the course of his trip to Rome from 1488 to 1490, and while at Mantua—both the artist himself and members of the Gonzaga family were collectors of antiquities. Equally, at the time he was working on the series, there were myriad texts, both ancient and contemporary, that described the triumphal processions of antiquity, many providing specific details on individual triumphs. As court artist, Mantegna would have had access to the extensive Gonzaga library.[103] It is also possible that Mantegna had a humanist advisor assist him with the complex iconography.[104] Mantegna nevertheless took liberties with his depictions, relying on no one account nor striving for total historical accuracy.

Regarding the visual source material, it is important to consider Mantegna's early training and his own antiquarian interests. During his time in Padua, under the tutelage

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[102] Chiara Pisani, "*I trionfi di Cesare*," in *Mantegna a Mantova 1460-1506*, ed. Mauro Lucco (Milan: Skira, 2006), 118. See Martindale, *Triumphs*, chapter nine for a more complete list of the copies after Mantegna's *Triumphs*.
[103] Roy Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), 46. See Martindale, *Triumphs*, Appendix III, for the primary textual sources for each canvas.
[104] Furlotti and Rebecchini, "Rare and Unique," 55.

of Francesco Squarcione, he would have had exposure to that artist's large collection of classical sculptures and casts. Later in life, Mantegna amassed his own assortment of antiquities, and added pieces during his extended stay in Rome. A number of Mantegna's acquaintances, including his brother-in-law Giovanni Bellini, collected ancient art, and members of the Gonzaga family also had impressive antiquities collections.[105] In 1472, for example, Cardinal Francesco (son of Lodovico II) summoned Mantegna to show the artist his personal holdings. Marquis Federico had a collection that included classical bronzes and marbles, along with the famous *Felix Gem*. Federico had a room specifically built to showcase his collection—perhaps the first Renaissance *studiolo* in Mantua.[106]

Turning now to specific monuments that may have influenced the iconography of the *Triumphs*, given Mantegna's antiquarian interests and the amount of classical material available to him, it is perhaps surprising that few known ancient works are specifically associated with details in the painting. Any number of ancient monuments could have served as inspiration—the Arch of Constantine, Arch of Titus, Column of Trajan—which Mantegna would have known through books and drawings, even if he had not seen them in person. Lodovico Gonzaga is known to have purchased a book of drawings of antiquities in 1476, which he lent to Mantegna.[107] In particular, the Arch of Titus in Rome was likely an important visual source, due to its famous relief of soldiers transporting spoils looted from Jerusalem (figure 1.38). However, Mantegna elected not

[105] Weiss, *Renaissance Discovery*, 182, note 1.
[106] Clifford M. Brown, with Anna Maria Lorenzoni, "Collecting Greco-Roman Art in Mantua in the Age of Federico I Gonzaga and the Documentation for the Date of Isabella d'Este's Move to the Corte Vecchia," in *Quaderni di Palazzo Te*, ed. Renzo Zorzi (Milan: Electa, 1996), 19.
[107] Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 144 and Manca, *Mantegna*, 119.

to accurately copy the triumphal cart found in those reliefs, instead painting a cart more like those utilized during the fifteenth century, such as is seen in a depiction of King Alfonso's entry into Naples on the triumphal arch in the Castel Nuovo in Naples (figure 1.39).[108] Mantegna may also have been familiar with reliefs from the Ara Pacis Augustae in Rome, with one scholar arguing that it served as a prototype for canvas VII and the *Senators* (figure 1.40).[109] The census scene from the Domitius Ahenobarbus monument, with its processional narrative format (figure 1.41), may have also been a source.[110] Others find a similarity between Mantegna's canvases and the reliefs from the Arch of Septimius Severus in Rome.[111] Finally, Michael Vickers argued that the famed *Felix Gem*, in the Gonzaga collection from at least 1485, may have had an influence on the imagery of the *Triumphs* (figure 1.42).[112]

Although Mantegna used Roman sculpture as a guide, he rarely seems to quote specific poses. An exception may be the youth carrying a banner in canvas IX, which one scholar argues is adapted from the statue *Eros Stringing his Bow* (a Roman copy of a

[108] Stephen J. Campbell, "Mantegna's Triumph: The Cultural Politics "all'antica" at the Court of Mantua, 1490-1530," in *Artists at Court: Image-Making and Identity, 1300-1550*, ed. Stephen J. Campbell (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2004), 98.
[109] Michael Vickers, "The 'Palazzo Santacroce Sketchbook': A New Source for Andrea Mantegna's 'Triumph of Caesar', 'Bacchanals' and 'Battle of the Sea Gods'," *The Burlington Magazine* Vol. 118, No. 885 (December 1976): 827. Though there is no evidence of the Ara Pacis having been excavated prior to 1568, it is possible that parts of the monument were known at an earlier date. Rodolfo Signorini, "The Triumphs of Caesar: Associated Drawings and Engravings," in *Splendours of the Gonzaga*, ed. David Chambers and Jane Martineau (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1981), 144.
[110] Vickers, "Palazzo," 832. Now at the Musée du Louvre, in the late Quattrocento the altar was seemingly housed in the Palazzo Santacroce in Rome.
[111] Martindale, "Historicus," 8-9.
[112] See Michael Vickers, "The Felix Gem in Oxford and Mantegna's Triumphal Programme," *Gazette des beaux-arts* Vol. 6, No. 101 (March 1983).

Lysippan original), now in the Musei Capitolini (figure 1.43).[113] The sarcophagus front depicting the *Indian Triumph of Bacchus* (figure 1.44), from the mid-second century CE, was well-known in the late Quattrocento and may have been a source of inspiration for Mantegna, particularly for the figure riding an elephant in canvas V.[114] Despite these examples, considering the vast amount of detail in the series and the plethora of visual sources from which he could have borrowed, very few elements in the painting are linked to specific ancient monuments. This indicates a degree of creativity on Mantegna's part; he was not bound by classical sources, and instead drew on a variety of resources: ancient and contemporary models, as well as literary guides.

The series was likely broadly designed before Mantegna's 1488 excursion to Rome, and a few of the canvases would also have been completed by that time. As elaborated in chapter two, in a discussion of the chronology of the painting's execution, most scholars feel that Mantegna's time in Rome did not have a strong impact on the overall iconography of the series. The artist's view of the ancient world was likely shaped predominantly by his early exposures to ancient art and monuments in Padua and Verona.[115] Certain details in the painting may, in fact, refer to monuments in those cities, for example, the prominent capital in canvas VII seems to be inspired by the Porta Leoni in Verona (figure 1.45).[116] The soldiers featured in the *Triumphs of Caesar* bear a resemblance to the soldiers Mantegna painted early in his career in the Ovetari chapel in

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[113] Phyllis Pray Bober and Ruth Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2010), 98. This statue was documented as being in the Villa d'Este at Tivoli in 1572; its earlier whereabouts are uncertain.
[114] Bober and Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists*, 123.
[115] Elam, "Mantegna," 21-22 and Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 77 and 151.
[116] Hope, "Triumphs," 367.

the church of the Eremitani in Padua (now mostly destroyed). For the captives, Mantegna would not have had available great detail about the dress of the ancient Gauls (if he even intended at the start for the soldiers to be Gallic); as Martindale states he has made them look "un-Roman," but not "un-antique."[117]

Turning to literature, there are a number of classical sources that Mantegna may have utilized. The *Lives of Caesar* by Suetonius, *Parallel Lives* by Plutarch, and Appian's *Romaica*—all of which provide accounts of ancient triumphs—were available in print form at the time Mantegna was working on the series.[118] Also likely useful would have been Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita*, the account of Vespasian's Jewish triumph in Josephus, and the briefer descriptions of triumphs found in Pliny the Elder and Cicero.[119] We cannot know for certain the precise texts available to Mantegna. An inventory of the library of Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, son of Lodovico and younger brother of Federico, made at the time of his death in 1496, includes copies of Suetonius, Josephus, Appian, Livy's *History of Rome*, Plutarch's *Lives*, and Caesar's *Commentaries,* as well as works by Flavio Biondo.[120]

We do know of certain specific texts to which Mantegna had access in Mantua. Flavio Biondo's *Roma Triumphans*, published in Mantua in 1472, may have been a useful starting point for the artist. This volume included, in book ten, a compendium of ancient accounts of triumphs and an attempt on the author's part to reconstruct the

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[117] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 67-69.
[118] Lloyd, *Mantegna*, 17.
[119] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 56 and Richard Brilliant, ""Let the Trumpets Roar!" The Roman Triumph," in *The Art of the Ancient Spectacle*, ed. Bettina Bergmann and Christine Kondoleon (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 224.
[120] Chambers, "Condottiere," 82.

triumphal route, noting which monuments the procession passed; the text was presented to Pope Pius II while in Mantua in 1459, and then printed in the city shortly thereafter.[121] This, though, was unlikely to be Mantegna's only source material. Another significant contemporary text was Roberto Valturio's *De Re Militari*, published in nearby Verona in 1472, which, though not as detailed as Biondo's work, would also have proved useful.[122] *Collectio Antiquitatum*, published in 1465 by Giovanni Marcanova (a friend of Mantegna's), may have also been a helpful source.[123] As Anthony Halliday has argued, though previous scholars have often assumed that Mantegna relied almost exclusively on Biondo, and the ancient sources quoted therein, certain details within the painting demonstrate that Mantegna had exposure to other ancient authors. To illustrate the point, Halliday notes that though some have found Caesar's long sleeves in canvas IX to be anachronistic, this detail is actually recorded in Suetonius, just not in the passage quoted in Biondo.[124]

Mantegna seems to have borrowed details from various accounts of different triumphs, even when they were not appropriate within the context of Caesar's Gallic victory. For example, as noted by Ronald Lightbown and Halliday, the captives in canvas VII are wearing Greek dress, a detail taken from Plutarch's account of the triumph of Aemilius and not appropriate for any of Caesar's triumphs (and certainly not his Gallic

[121] Nicholas Temple, "Julius II as Second Caesar," in *Julius Caesar in Western Culture*, ed. Maria Wyke (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 113; Halliday, "Literary," 188; and Angelo Mazzocco, "Biondo Flavio and the Antiquarian Tradition" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1973), 42.
[122] Tietze-Conrat, *Mantegna*, 23 and Giovanni Paccagnini, ed., *Andrea Mantegna* (Venice: Neri Pozza Editore, 1961), 46. Tietze-Conrat thinks this text was one of Mantegna's primary sources.
[123] Elam, "*Triomphes*," 363.
[124] Halliday, "Literary," 190.

one). The weapons featured in canvas III are also accurate portrayals of those described by Plutarch in his *Life of Aemilius Paullus*.[125] Mantegna additionally borrowed details from Appian's account of the triumph of Scipio Africanus.[126] As mentioned above, some details in the painting, such as Caesar's chariot, are not at all classical, and may have been based on Renaissance recreations of ancient triumphs, with which Mantegna was familiar.

All of this leads to an interesting conclusion: Mantegna certainly had the ability, both in terms of the necessary skill sets and the availability of written and visual descriptions, to produce a fairly accurate depiction of one of Caesar's triumphs. Instead, Mantegna deliberately elected to take liberties and create a series that conflates multiple historical sources, while also including some anachronistic details. The reason for this may have been in the specific choice of subject matter. The artist found himself in a tricky situation by electing to depict Caesar's Gallic triumph, for although a number of specific triumphs are described in detail in the surviving ancient sources, Caesar's Gallic triumph—seemingly the primary subject of the *Triumphs of Caesar*—is not one of them.[127] The reasoning behind the selection of the Gallic triumph as the subject may be directly connected to the artist's Gonzaga patron and contemporary events. As shall be discussed in chapter two, the details around the commission of the series—when such occurred and for whom the painting was initially created—are unclear. Eventually the

[125] Halliday, "Literary," 190-191.
[126] Martindale, "Historicus," 7 and Halliday, "Literary," 193. Halliday, following Charles Hope's argument that Mantegna began painting at the end of the procession, believes Mantegna relied principally on Appian's description of ancient triumphs for canvas VIII and IX, but then switched to Plutarch as his primary source for the remainder of the series.
[127] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 58.

Triumphs came under the purview of Francesco II, the last of the three marquises for whom Mantegna worked. Noting that Francesco celebrated a military victory against the French in 1495, perhaps at that time the iconography of the painting was adjusted to suggest that the triumph represented was Caesar's Gallic one. This could have been relatively easily accomplished, through the inclusion of inscriptions in canvas II.

Indeed, if, as Charles Hope argues—and as shall be discussed in the next chapter—Mantegna began work at the end of the series, that is, with canvases VII, VIII, and IX, he may not have even begun or only just have commenced work on canvases I and II at the time of the Battle of Fornovo and Francesco's victory over the French. This also may explain why in canvas IX we find the flag bearing the words "Veni, Vidi, Vici," a detail Suetonius relates in connection to Caesar's Pontic triumph. As mentioned above, a final instance where Mantegna strays significantly from the ancient accounts is that the various Roman texts make clear that the triumphator—in this case Caesar—should appear in the middle of the procession, not at the end, suggesting therefore that Mantegna elected to cut short his procession, or that the project was never completed as intended.[128] This, again, may have been at the urging of his Gonzaga patron, who was eager to see the lengthy project completed.

In my view, artistic liberties taken by Mantegna cannot be entirely attributed to the limited information available regarding Caesar's Gallic triumph in particular. I envision Mantegna making conscious decisions to deviate from historical sources in his depiction of a classical triumph. The procession, for example, is not marching past

[128] Martindale, "Historicus," 7.

specific Roman monuments, a choice likely made for reasons of clarity, with Mantegna looking to avoid cluttering an already crowded composition.[129] Other decisions may have been purely aesthetic, such as the choice to paint certain types of armor or the style of chariot in which Caesar rides. Mantegna was an inventive artist; his aim with the *Triumphs* was to create a scene that had an overall feeling of antiquity, not to slavishly record detail from ancient texts. The end result, discussed in the next section, was the first large-scale depiction of a Roman triumph that was purely classical in nature, not peppered with contemporary figures.

To better contextualize the *Triumphs*, it is important to remember the general approaches to antiquity during the Renaissance. In fifteenth-century Italy, there was a revival of interest in the classical world, and artists began to take inspiration from, and at times directly imitated, ancient works of art. This idea of imitation, or *imitatio*, was prevalent in a variety of disciplines, not only the fine arts, but also literature and theater (as is discussed in chapter three).[130] Artists were looking back to classical writers for inspiration, as well as to the many surviving monuments and ruins from antiquity.[131] An important aspect of Mantegna's own training was the copying of ancient sculptures and reliefs. However, there is a distinction between strictly copying another work, and taking

[129] Or perhaps Mantegna and his audience simply had different notions of the topography of ancient Rome. Philip Jacks makes a strong case for this idea, writing that "From the perspective of the Renaissance, the image of Rome was neither fixed in stone nor frozen in time." Philip Jacks, *The Antiquarian and the Myth of Antiquity: The Origins of Rome in Renaissance Thought* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 4.
[130] See Thomas M. Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982) for more on this topic.
[131] David Quint, *Origin and Originality in Renaissance Literature: Versions of the Source* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), ix-x and Weiss, *Renaissance Discovery*, 59.

inspiration from, and then improving upon, said work. Quintilian, an ancient Roman rhetorician, believed one should be selective when looking at works of art, and not simply imitate, but improve upon, only the best models.[132] For some early modern artists, the goal was not merely to copy ancient sculpture, but to make it more present.[133] This, I argue, is what Mantegna was attempting to achieve with his *Triumphs of Caesar*. Though the painter certainly was capable of making a more accurate imitation of a Roman triumph, based on ancient texts and artifacts, he preferred instead to create a work that was alive, with movement and energy.

One interesting scenario to consider is that the series and subject matter was conceived and designed entirely by Mantegna, rather than a proposal coming to him from his Gonzaga patron. As has been discussed throughout this chapter, Mantegna had a known interest in antiquity, but prior to the *Triumphs* had had no opportunity to produce a work with a strictly classical subject matter. The subject matter was possibly selected, by Mantegna or by his patron, to display his mastery of foreshortening, talent at creating detailed and crowded compositions, and ability to reproduce antiquarian elements.[134] If Mantegna did propose the subject, he would have required a patron to support such an ambitious project. The question of which member of the Gonzaga family functioned as

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[132] Jeffrey M. Muller, "Rubens's Theory and Practice of the Imitation of Art," *The Art Bulletin* Vol. 64, No. 2 (June 1982): 231.

[133] A prime example of this is the *Laocoön*, an ancient sculpture rediscovered in Rome in 1506 and subsequently copied and reinterpreted by many Renaissance artists (see, for example, Michelangelo's *Rebellious Slave* from 1513 now in the Musée du Louvre or Titian's *Bacchus and Ariadne* from 1520-1523, National Gallery, London). Intriguingly, Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar* itself was later imitated by and "improved" upon by other artists, most notably Rubens, who created his *A Roman Triumph* ca. 1630 (National Gallery, London), discussed in chapter four.

[134] Charles Hope, "Mantegna's Classical World," review of *The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna in the Collection of her Majesty the Queen at Hampton Court*, by Andrew Martindale, *The London Review of Books* Vol. 2, No. 12 (June 19, 1980): 17.

that patron will be discussed in the next chapter. Regardless of where the idea originated, the project ultimately benefited the artist, displaying his immense talents on a large scale. The patron benefited as well, for Mantegna's success reflected back on the Gonzaga, showing them as cultured and humanist individuals, and as great leaders like Julius Caesar. Though some scholars have argued that the primary function of the series was not to flatter the Gonzaga—after all, there are no direct references in the painting to any specific members of the family—but served to show off Mantegna's own skills and interests, the series still would have reflected positively on the Gonzaga by association.[135]

VII. Triumphs During the Renaissance

In addition to studying ancient works of art, Mantegna may have taken inspiration from or, as I shall argue, deliberately reacted against, contemporary depictions of triumphs. Triumphal processions, in various forms, were popular during the Renaissance, as part of the general revival of interest in antiquity. Throughout Italy, actual triumphal processions were staged. Sometimes these triumphs had military associations, but more frequently they were held to celebrate special events, such as a wedding or the arrival of a visiting dignitary.[136] Triumphs came to be defined more broadly during the Renaissance, encompassing any sort of festive procession. These

[135] Hope, "Triumphs," 356 and Ames-Lewis, *Intellectual*, 127. Mantegna used the head of Julius Caesar on his personal seal, so the subject may have held additional meaning for the artist. Campbell, "Mantegna's Triumph," 96 and Furlotti and Rebecchini, "Rare and Unique," 55.

[136] Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy, Volume II*, trans. S. G. C. Middlemore (New York: Harper & Row, 1958), 401-402. Wedding processions often featured brides riding in triumphal carts; Isabella d'Este rode in one for her wedding to Francesco Gonzaga in 1490. Manca, *Mantegna*, 127.

trionfi usually included chariots and elements of pageantry, such as floats and masks. They often featured figures dressed as the Virtues or Fortune, or even as Julius Caesar.[137] Temporary triumphal arches were constructed for the procession to ceremoniously pass through.[138] In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, triumphs shifted from their original classical purpose to take on new meanings. Rulers employed triumphal motifs as a display of power and pomp. Authors such as Petrarch and Dante utilized triumphal imagery, conflating classical ideas with medieval notions of chivalry and complex allegories.[139]

We know of many historical occurrences of *trionfi*, some with connections to Caesar. Leaders would often recreate ancient triumphs, with actors playing the roles of generals. Cesare Borgia held his own triumph of Julius Caesar in Rome in 1500, processing from the Piazza Navona to St. Peter's.[140] Under Lorenzo de' Medici in Florence, the pageant of San Giovanni of 1491 featured four triumphs, including one of Caesar. A triumph of Caesar was also held to mark the marriage of Bernardo Rucellai with Nannina de' Medici in 1460.[141] On the occasion of the marriage of Alfonso d'Este to Lucrezia Borgia in 1502, the triumphs of Julius Caesar, Paulus Aemilius, and Scipio Africanus Major were all staged in Rome.[142] Other famous examples of triumphal

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[137] Loren Partridge and Randolph Starn, "Triumphalism and the Sala Regia in the Vatican," in *"All the world's a stage…" Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque. Part 1: Triumphal Celebrations and the Rituals of Statecraft*, ed. Barbara Wisch and Susan Munshower (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University, 1990), 23 and Burckhardt, *Civilization, Vol. II*, 401-425.
[138] Manca, *Mantegna*, 127.
[139] Zaho, *Imago*, 1 and 28.
[140] Giovanni Carandente, *I Trionfi Nel Primo Rinascimento* (Turin: Edizioni Rai Radiotelevisione Italiana, 1963), 80.
[141] Arlt, *Mantegna*, 12.
[142] Strong, *Art and Power*, 46.

processions include Alfonso of Aragon's entry into the conquered city of Naples in 1443—a procession that was consciously modeled on ancient Roman triumphs, and featured the character of Julius Caesar—and Borso d'Este's triumphal entries into Reggio in 1453 and Rome in 1471, the former with seven Virtues being ceremoniously presented to Borso by Caesar himself.[143] As a court artist, Mantegna may have had direct involvement with *trionfi*, as among his duties likely were the creation of banners and other decorative elements for processions and festivals, such as the public entry of Francesco Gonzaga (second son of Lodovico) into Mantua in 1462, after having been made a cardinal, or for Federico's wedding festivities in 1463, or the triumphant return of Francesco II after the Battle of Fornovo in 1495.[144]

Visual representations of triumphs, many rooted in the sculpted friezes of antiquity, were also prevalent during the Renaissance, particularly in the form of illustrations of Petrarch's *I Trionfi*. This poem, written by Petrarch in the mid-fourteenth century, recounts the successive conquests of six allegorical figures, starting with the Triumph of Love and ending with the Triumph of Eternity.[145] Throughout the fifteenth century, Petrarch's work was illustrated in a variety of forms, not just as paintings, but on cassoni, deschi da parto, in manuscripts, tapestries, and as woodcuts and engravings.[146] Artists took a degree of license in their visual depictions of the poem. For example,

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[143] Zaho, *Imago*, 99; Strong, *Art and Power*, 45; and Burckhardt, *Civilization, Vol. II*, 411-413 and 417.
[144] Bourne, "Art of Diplomacy," 158 and Selwyn Brinton, *The Gonzaga—Lords of Mantua* (London: Methuen & Co., 1927), 74, 77-78, and 113.
[145] There is debate among scholars about when Petrarch wrote his poem. The general consensus is that it was written between 1352 and 1374, though some argue for a start date as early as 1340. See Jean Seznec, "Petrarch and Renaissance Art," in *Francesco Petrarca: Citizen of the World*, ed. Aldo S. Bernardo (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1980), 135 and Zaho, *Imago*, 33.
[146] Allan, "Triumph Theme," 15.

though Petrarch only described Love as riding in a chariot, artists latched on to this triumphal iconography, assigning each allegorical figure their own chariot, drawn by a unique team of animals. Countless works illustrating *I Trionfi* survive from the Renaissance, with notable examples including Lo Scheggia's *Triumph of Fame* desco da parto at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (figure 1.46), dating to circa 1449 and made for the birth of Lorenzo de' Medici; a series of engravings (figure 1.47) illustrating Petrarch's poem by the Master of the Vienna Passion (circa 1460, Albertina); and Lorenzo Costa's paintings *Triumph of Death* and *Triumph of Fame* from 1490 (figure 1.48), in the Cappella Bentivoglio, San Giacomo Maggiore, Bologna. It seems that Mantegna himself painted a series of the *Triumphs of Petrarch*, now lost, possibly for Francesco's palace at Gonzaga.[147]

Petrarchan and triumphal imagery was particularly popular on cassoni, usually produced in pairs, with the six scenes split over the two chests. An excellent example of this type, from circa 1450 by Francesco Pesellino, can be seen at the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston (figure 1.49). Another set of cassoni, dated circa 1460s and now at the Denver Art Museum (figure 1.50), also show all six triumphs in scenes divided by pilasters. A final cassone example worth noting, at the New York Historical Society, shows not Petrarch's *Triumphs*, but in fact the *Triumph of Julius Caesar* (figure 1.51), painted by Lo Scheggia around 1445-1465—this version, however, is not strictly historical, as the scene is populated with numerous figures in contemporary clothing.

[147] Molly Bourne, *Francesco II Gonzaga: The Soldier-Prince as Patron* (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 2008), 213-215 and Clifford M. Brown, "I *Trionfi* di Petrarca di Andrea Mantegna, tra certezee e ipotesi," in *A casa di Andrea Mantegna: Cultura artistica a Mantova nel Quattrocento*, ed. Rodolfo Signorini (Milan: Silvana Editoriale Spa, 2006), 283-285.

Mantegna himself was seemingly involved in the production of marriage chests for Paola Gonzaga, in the mid-1470s, which featured the triumphal procession of emperor Trajan (figure 1.52).[148] Overall, in contrast to earlier Petrarchan images, particularly in terms of prints of *I Trionfi* which have a very static feel, Mantegna's series is much more alive, with a great sense of movement.

In the Quattrocento, we also find depictions of contemporary figures in triumph, often with additional allegorical elements. A famous example of this type are the triumphal chariots on the back of Piero della Francesca's *Portrait of Federico da Montefeltro and Battista Sforza* (circa 1473-1475, Galleria degli Uffizi): Federico drives the allegorical chariot of Fame, whereas Battista rides alongside the figures of Charity, Faith, and Hope (figure 1.53).[149] In Borso d'Este's famed Salone dei Mesi in the Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara, in each of the twelve panels representing the months of the year we find a pagan god riding in a triumphal chariot, with Borso pictured below acting out the various roles of a duke (figures 1.54 and 1.55).[150] Some works illustrated actual triumphs, including those named above—see, for example, the triumphal arch of Alfonso I in the Castel Nuovo in Naples (1453-1471), with a frieze showing Alfonso processing in a chariot.[151]

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[148] Andrew Martindale, "The Middle Age of Andrea Mantegna," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* Vol. 127, No. 5278 (September 1979): 633 and 638 and Richard Milesi, *Mantegna und die Reliefs der Brauttruhen Paola Gonzagas* (Klagenfurt: Verlag des Landesmuseums für Kärnten, 1975), 5-11.
[149] James R. Banker, *Piero della Francesca: Artist and Man* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 150.
[150] This fresco cycle is discussed in greater depth in chapter two.
[151] Zaho, *Imago*, 56-60.

One earlier fresco illustrating an ancient triumph is worth highlighting for it seems to be one with which Mantegna was familiar: the Sala Grande in the former Scaligeri palace in Verona. The series was painted by Altichiero—one of the great northern Italian artists of the fourteenth century—likely in the 1360s, before Altichiero moved to Padua in the following decade. The frescoes were unfortunately lost over time; it was not until the 1950s that their precise location within the large Verona palace complex was determined. The main portion of the wall told the story of the Jewish Wars of Titus and Vespasian, as recounted by Josephus. Almost none of this narrative, or the border containing portraits of contemporary figures, survives, though some of the fictive stone busts of Roman emperors in profile do remain.[152] Vasari tells us that Jacopo Avanzi was working in the hall at the same time as Altichiero, and that he painted "two most beautiful Triumphs," which were admired by Mantegna.[153] Vasari's source for this information, or the accuracy of his statement, cannot be determined satisfactorily. Some drawings done after Altichiero's frescoes provide a sense of what they may have looked like, but not a complete picture. A drawing in the Musée du Louvre of the double triumph of Titus and Vespasian (both men riding in the same chariot) was possibly made after the frescoes in Verona (figure 1.56), and may be the two triumphs to which Vasari was referring. As to the involvement of Jacopo Avanzi, it seems he did collaborate with Altichiero on another project, the chapel of San Giacomo in Padua, so perhaps the two also worked together in Verona.[154]

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[152] John Richards, *Altichiero: An artist and his patrons in the Italian trecento* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 37-39.
[153] Richards, *Altichiero*, 58 and Vasari, *Lives*, 601.
[154] Richards, *Altichiero*, 58-59.

Though Mantegna may have admired the paintings, the frescoes in the Sala Grande differed from his own interpretation of a classical triumph through the inclusion of contemporary portraits. This is an important point to emphasize: all of the depictions of triumphs just discussed, whether illustrations of Petrarch's poem or historical events, include allegorical or contemporary figures, in modern dress, and other details of the time. What sets Mantegna's *Triumphs* apart from these examples is the fact that it is entirely historical in its subject matter (not allegorical or poetic) and does not include any direct references to, or portraits of, the Gonzaga. As one scholar plainly states, the canvases "represent the first attempt at an accurate visual representation of a Roman triumph."[155] The painting may have included some inaccuracies and areas where Mantegna strayed from historical sources, but it remains strictly antique in its appearance. Most visitors to Mantua would have been familiar with Petrarch's *I Trionfi* and likely also illustrations of fifteenth-century triumphs, but Mantegna's completely classical *Triumphs of Caesar* would have been a novelty.[156]

Mantegna may have elected not to include contemporary imagery due to his own personal antiquarian interests and a desire to create a purely historical work of art—as described by one scholar, Mantegna was "one of the most important historical thinkers of his time."[157] Though he had ancient models at his disposal, being an inventive and imaginative painter, Mantegna preferred not so much to imitate antiquity, as to create his own version, filled with seemingly accurate historical detail, while also teeming with life

[155] Strong, *Art and Power*, 46.
[156] Allan, "Triumph Theme," 45.
[157] Greenstein, *Historical Narrative*, 8.

and energy. Drawing on a variety of source materials, I argue Mantegna intended to create a series of paintings with the aura of antiquity—even if not every element was historically accurate. A reason for not including portraits of the Gonzaga was that such would ruin the historical illusion. Figures in contemporary dress marching alongside Roman soldiers would quickly clue the viewer in to the fact that the paintings were just that: paintings. Within a few generations, those figures in contemporary dress would appear dated, weakening the illusion even further. Just as he did not want his series to simply imitate ancient art, nor did Mantegna want the *Triumphs* to forever be stuck in the late Quattrocento.[158] By only depicting classical, historical objects and figures—even if all are not strictly appropriate for an image of Caesar's Gallic triumph—and by displaying the canvases in a specific manner, slightly above eye level, Mantegna is able, however briefly, to deceive his viewers into thinking they are witnessing a classical *trionfi*, one bursting with a vibrancy and energy not found in the ancient models being imitated by his contemporaries.

It is only in the sixteenth century, after the completion of Mantegna's *Triumphs*, that we begin to see additional triumphal paintings that are purely classical, such as Giulio Romano's *Triumph of Titus and Vespasian* (1537, Musée du Louvre) (figure 1.57), painted for Federico II Gonzaga, and the *Triumph of Camillus* by Salviati (figure 1.58), frescoed in the Palazzo Vecchio in 1545 for Cosimo I de' Medici.[159] Mantegna

[158] These ideas of time, antiquarianism, and anachronism in the Renaissance are discussed in Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: Zone Books, 2010), especially pages 8-9, 45-46, and 94.

[159] Contemporary to his father's work on the *Triumphs of Caesar*, Mantegna's son Francesco, in 1491, painted a *Triumph of Alexander* in the Gonzaga palace at Marmirolo. It unfortunately no longer exists, so we cannot be certain of its imagery. Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 94 and Bourne, *Francesco II*, 126.

himself executed a few classical compositions towards the end of his life, including the grisaille *Introduction of the Cult of Cybele at Rome* (figure 1.59), painted shortly before the artist's death, in 1505 or 1506.[160] Before working on the *Triumphs*, Mantegna at times included classical elements within larger compositions. Most famously, the ceiling of the Camera Picta is frescoed with painted busts of the first eight Roman emperors, beginning with Julius Caesar (figure 1.60).

One final element that distinguishes the *Triumphs* from other Renaissance artworks with similar subjects is the sheer scale of the composition and the overall atmosphere and sense of movement one perceives when viewing the nine canvases. Though we cannot know for certain how the *Triumphs* was displayed in the early years of its existence (a topic addressed in chapter two), by 1512 the canvases were installed in one long row, with dividing pilasters, in a specially designed grand hall at the Palazzo San Sebastiano in Mantua. Viewing the painting today at Hampton Court Palace, where the method of display and even the pilasters themselves are modeled after San Sebastiano, one feels a real sense of motion, as though one is looking out through a loggia at a passing parade. This illusion is enhanced by the fact that the figures are life-size. The effect is one that cannot be achieved with the small-scale of cassoni, or by an individual painting. Perhaps the art form that comes closest is tapestry (figure 1.61), yet tapestries do not possess the detailed naturalism found in Mantegna's canvases. End to

[160] This painting, now at the National Gallery in London and at times called the *Triumph of Scipio*, was to be one of a set of four, commissioned by Francesco Cornaro. Mantegna only completed one painting before his death; another was provided by Giovanni Bellini (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.). See Neville Rowley, "The Last Works," in *Mantegna & Bellini*, ed. Caroline Campbell, et al. (London: National Gallery Company, 2018), 250; Milesi, *Reliefs*, 11; and Gore, *Triumph*, 2.

end, the painting required about 28 meters (over 90 feet) of uninterrupted wall space. One can only imagine the sense of awe and wonder felt by guests of the Gonzaga when they viewed the *Triumphs of Caesar* for the first time, with its classical procession appearing to march past their very eyes.

VIII. Conclusion

By closely exploring the subject matter and detailed iconography found in the *Triumphs of Caesar*, and considering the vast array of sources available to him, I argue that Mantegna never intended to create a perfectly accurate depiction of any one triumph of Caesar. This would have been too limiting for an artist of his abilities and imagination. Instead, as someone with a great interest in antiquity and with a wide selection of literary and visual resources at his disposal, Mantegna (working with his patron) endeavored to create a series that was alive and full of antiquarian details, that would awe and impress visitors to Mantua. Guests would be accustomed to triumphal imagery of the type used to illustrate Petrarch's poem, filled with contemporary portraits and allegorical figures. A scene that was strictly classical in nature—regardless of whether all the historical details were entirely appropriate for the context—would have been a novelty. With the *Triumphs of Caesar*, Mantegna was able to create not only his own first large-scale depiction of antiquity, but the first Italian Renaissance painting that attempted to accurately capture on a grand scale a triumphal procession from the classical past.

Chapter Two
Mantegna and the Gonzaga: The Commission of the *Triumphs of Caesar*

In this chapter, the circumstances of the creation of Andrea Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar* are explored. The details of the painting's commission remain unclear. Over the past 150 years scholars have put forward various arguments regarding the patron of the series, naming different members of the Gonzaga family with corresponding dates for the painting's execution. These theories have been based primarily on written references to the *Triumphs* in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, while also taking into consideration the personalities of the various Gonzaga family members and the histories of their rule. Similarly, a variety of locations within the Palazzo Ducale in Mantua have been proposed as potential homes for the series, again based on written accounts as well as the size requirements needed to house the nine canvases. What follows in this chapter is an examination of the evidence and consideration of the merits of the posited theories. In particular, I give attention to Federico I Gonzaga, the short-ruling marquis whose reign was bookended by Lodovico II and Francesco II. Though it is impossible to precisely date the canvases, the majority of scholars believe either Lodovico or Francesco Gonzaga to have been the patron of the *Triumphs of Caesar*. However, a strong case can also be made for Federico as patron. Consideration of the commission having originated with Federico opens up new possibilities regarding the original intended location of the painting, namely, that it was to be displayed in Federico's never-completed Domus Nova, and indicates that, from the start, the series was designed to function as a permanent palatial decoration, with the aim of impressing visitors.

I. Background

The Gonzaga became the leaders of Mantua in August 1328, after expelling the Bonacolsi family (who had ruled since 1273), with their position secure by the early Quattrocento.[1] After the coup, the Gonzaga gained much of the Bonacolsi's property; some of these medieval buildings formed the eventual core of the sprawling Palazzo Ducale, a complex of structures located between the Piazza Sordello and Lago Inferiore, that was added to and altered drastically over the centuries (figure 2.1). The Gonzaga family moved into the Palazzo del Capitano and adjacent Magna Domus (figure 2.2), both acquired by the Gonzaga in 1355.[2] These two buildings, constructed by the Bonacolsi, served as the primary centers of the Gonzaga court during the fourteenth century. The structures made up part of the Palazzo della Corte (itself a portion of the larger Palazzo Ducale), a cluster of rambling buildings that expanded over time. Built under Francesco I Gonzaga, the Castello di San Giorgio (figure 2.3) joined the Palazzo Ducale complex between 1395 and 1406, functioning as a fortress until Lodovico II

[1] Barbara Furlotti and Guido Rebecchini, *The Art of Mantua: Power and Patronage in the Renaissance*, trans. A. Lawrence Jenkens (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2008), 25 and 33 and A. Adami, et al., "The Gonzagas' palace: architecture of time. An interactive application for the discovery of the architectural history of Palazzo Ducale in Mantua," paper presented at the Virtual System and Multimedia 22nd International Conference (Kuala Lumpur, October 17-21, 2016), 2.

[2] Molly Bourne, "The Art of Diplomacy: Mantua and the Gonzaga, 1328-1630," in *The Court Cities of Northern Italy: Milan, Parma, Piacenza, Mantua, Ferrara, Bologna, Urbino, Pesaro, and Rimini*, ed. Charles M. Rosenberg (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 145 and Joanna Woods-Marsden, *The Gonzaga of Mantua and Pisanello's Arthurian Frescoes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 3. The Magna Domus was built in the late thirteenth century, and the nearby and slightly later Palazzo del Capitano dates from the early fourteenth century. See Andrew Martindale, *The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna, in the Collection of her Majesty the Queen at Hampton Court* (London: Harvey Miller, 1979), 37-38 and Allison Cole, *Virtue and Magnificence: Art of the Italian Renaissance Courts* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1995), 144.

converted it into a residence in the mid-fifteenth century.[3] Additional buildings were added in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, including the Domus Nova and Palazzo San Sebastiano, both which shall be discussed later in this chapter.[4]

In 1433, Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, father of Lodovico II, was awarded the title Marquis of Mantua by Emperor Sigismund (after paying a large sum), elevating the status of the Gonzaga into the nobility.[5] The title was a hereditary one, which passed to Lodovico on the death of Gianfrancesco in 1444. Lodovico II (figure 2.4) ruled from 1444 to 1478, and was succeeded by his son, Federico I (figure 2.5), who died suddenly in 1484. He was in turn succeeded by his son, Francesco II (figure 2.6). The family earned their wealth and funded their courtly lifestyle through their positions as *condottieri*, working as professional soldiers for a number of the more powerful surrounding families, including the Sforza of Milan, while also maintaining good relations with the Holy Roman Empire.[6]

The Gonzaga invested considerably in art and architecture projects to promote their rule, with most of the Gonzaga marquises acting as major patrons of the arts. The family played a significant role in the organization and shaping of Mantua through their building projects, including the construction of new churches, paving of the central

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[3] Giovanni Rodella, "Notes on the Castello di San Giorgio and the Architecture of the Camera Picta," in *Mantegna's Camera degli Sposi*, ed. Michele Cordano (New York: Abbeville Press, 1993), 221 and Furlotti and Rebecchini, *Art of Mantua*, 30.

[4] Over the centuries, there have been myriad alterations made to the Palazzo Ducale, and the construction of many additional buildings, including the grand Corte Nuova in the mid-sixteenth century. With the arrival of the Hapsburgs in Mantua in 1707, additional restorations were carried out. It can, therefore, be difficult to determine precisely how certain rooms appeared during the time of Mantegna.

[5] Giovanni Paccagnini and Maria Figliolo Paccagnini, *Palazzo Ducale of Mantua*, trans. Paul Blanchard (Milan: Edizioni Electa Spa, 1986), 12.

[6] Bourne, "Art of Diplomacy," 148 and Christopher Lloyd, *Andrea Mantegna: The Triumphs of Caesar* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1991), 6.

piazza, and general refurbishments.[7] On a smaller scale, Mantegna and others executed a number of portraits and paintings over the decades—art that was utilized by the Gonzaga as diplomatic gifts.[8] Mantegna painted a *St. Sebastian* which was sent to France at the time of the marriage of Federico's daughter, Chiara, to Gilbert de Montpensier in 1481, and Isabella d'Este gifted a work by Mantegna to the French Cardinal d'Amboise in 1499 in an attempt to earn his favor.[9] The Gonzaga were aware that they received honor and admiration by simply having great artists, such as Mantegna, at their court. Writing to Mantegna about the *Triumphs* in 1489, Francesco II stated: "although they are works from your hand and genius, we nonetheless glory in having them in our residence."[10]

Many of the renovations done to various buildings in the Palazzo Ducale complex were timed to correspond with the arrival of important dignitaries: work on transforming the Castello di San Giorgio into a living space—undertaken by Lodovico, with input from

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[7] Furlotti and Rebecchini, *Art of Mantua*, 33 and 46; David S. Chambers, "Introduction: Mantua and the Gonzaga," in *Splendours of the Gonzaga*, ed. David Chambers and Jane Martineau (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1981), xx; and Howard Burns, "The Gonzaga and Renaissance Architecture," in *Splendours of the Gonzaga*, ed. David Chambers and Jane Martineau (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1981), 29.

[8] Furlotti and Rebecchini, *Art of Mantua*, 64. Elam notes that a painting sent by Mantegna to Lorenzo de' Medici, at a time when Federico Gonzaga was fighting alongside the Florentines and working to pay off a debt to the Medici bank, may have been an act of diplomacy through art. Caroline Elam, "Mantegna at Mantua," in *Splendours of the Gonzaga*, ed. David Chambers and Jane Martineau (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1981), 20.

[9] Bourne, "Art of Diplomacy," 161 and Elam, "Mantegna," 20.

[10] Translation from Keith Christiansen, "The Genius of Andrea Mantegna," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, New Series, Vol. 67, No. 2 (Fall 2009): 7. Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 2903, Libro 133, f. 11^{r}. Kristeller transcribes over 200 documents related to Mantegna and remains one of the most thorough compendiums, see Paul Kristeller, *Andrea Mantegna* (Berlin: Cosmos Verlag für Kunst und Wissenschaft, 1902). For documents specifically related to the *Triumphs of Caesar*, see Martindale, *Triumphs*, Appendix IV. In Molly Bourne, *Francesco II Gonzaga: The Soldier-Prince as Patron* (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 2008), Bourne includes over 300 contemporary documents, primarily correspondence, related to Francesco II Gonzaga, with annotations. This particular document is reproduced in Kristeller and Martindale, which shall be referenced as follows throughout: Kristeller (German), document 103 and Martindale, document 3.

architect Luca Fancelli and later Mantegna himself—was begun in anticipation of the Diet of Mantua, which lasted for eight months from May 1459 to January 1460, and was attended by Pope Pius II and a large entourage.[11]

This Diet proved to be an important moment for the city, which was attempting to reshape its image, looking to Florence for inspiration. The International Gothic had been the favored artistic style in Mantua during the first half of the fifteenth century, when Pisanello was brought to court to complete a number of frescoes (that remain unfinished today), but which by the second half of the century had become somewhat old-fashioned (figure 2.7).[12] It was Lodovico II who oversaw renovations and artistic projects in the city that introduced more classical and Renaissance styles to Mantua. The Florentine Luca Fancelli, who arrived in Mantua in 1450, became the chief architect to the Gonzaga under Lodovico, introducing the *all'antica* style of Brunelleschi to the city. Mantegna, who arrived in Mantua as a court artist in 1460, also helped bring a more modern style to the Gonzaga court.[13] He completed many projects for Lodovico and his successors, Federico and Francesco, most notably the frescoes in the Camera Picta and, of course, the *Triumphs of Caesar*, a significant example of the new Quattrocento Renaissance style.

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[11] Daniela Frigo, "'Small States' and Diplomacy: Mantua and Modena," in *Politics and Diplomacy in Early Modern Italy*, ed. Daniela Frigo, trans. Adrian Belton (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 156; Giuseppe Amadei and Ercolano Marani, eds., *I Gonzaga a Mantova* (Milan: Cassa di Risparmio delle Provincie Lombarde, 1975), 168; and Burns, "Architecture," 28. Though the task of converting the Castello into a residential space was not completed until many years after the Diet ended, Lodovico relocated his family to the Castello during the Diet to enable the Pope and his entourage to stay in the more comfortable Corte.

[12] Furlotti and Rebecchini, *Art of Mantua*, 36 and 45.

[13] Burns, "Architecture," 28 and Paccagnini and Paccagnini, *Palazzo Ducale*, 14. Though it seems Mantegna was in the service of the Gonzaga from early 1459, he apparently did not relocate to Mantua until 1460. See Ronald Lightbown, *Mantegna: With a Complete Catalogue of the Paintings, Drawings and Prints* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 76-77.

II. Documentary Evidence

Despite the modern renown of the Camera Picta, during Mantegna's lifetime and in the decades after his death his most well-known work was the *Triumphs of Caesar*.[14] Sometime after arriving in Mantua in 1460 and before his death in 1506, Mantegna painted the *Triumphs* for one of his three Gonzaga patrons: Lodovico II, Federico I, or Francesco II.[15] Based on the evidence provided by contemporary documentation, we are able to piece together aspects of the artist's work on the series. The first reference to the painting is found in a letter to Francesco Gonzaga, dated August 26, 1486, from Silvestro Calandra, secretary to the marquis (figure 2.8). In the letter, Calandra wrote that Duke Ercole d'Este of Ferrara, while visiting Mantua, had seen Mantegna at work on the painting. Calandra described the canvases as being in the "corte," a reference to the Palazzo della Corte.[16]

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[14] In fact, though Vasari discusses the *Triumphs* in some detail, he only briefly and obliquely references the Camera Picta. See Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects, Volume 1*, trans. Gaston du C. de Vere and ed. David Ekserdjian (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), 561.

[15] Mantegna was not allowed to take outside commissions without the permission of the Gonzaga family, which they rarely granted—an exception being the two years the artist spent in Rome, from 1488 to 1490, working on a project for Pope Innocent VIII. Elam, "Mantegna," 18 and Bourne, "Art of Diplomacy," 158. In 1484, Bishop Lodovico Gonzaga refused a request for a painting by Mantegna from Giovanni della Rovere, Prefect of Rome, as the artist was busy working on other projects for the family. Paul Kristeller, *Andrea Mantegna*, trans. Arthur Strong (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1901), 268. An undertaking as extensive as the *Triumphs* could only have been commissioned by one of the Gonzaga marquises.

[16] Charles Hope, "The Chronology of Mantegna's *Triumphs*," in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Craig Hugh Smyth, Vol. II*, ed. Andrew Morrogh, et al. (Florence: Giunti Barbèra, 1985), 292; Giovanni Paccagnini, ed., *Andrea Mantegna* (Venice: Neri Pozza Editore, 1961), 45; and Kristeller, *Mantegna* (English), 278. Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 2434, f. 280^{r}. Reproduced in Kristeller (German), document 96, and Martindale, document 1. The relevant passage reads: "s. Duca ha voluto vedere la spalera, et doppo disnar' monto inbarcha per andar' un poco a' solazo per el laco. dove stette pero poco spatio perche laqua li facea male p no' gli esser' consueto. et smonto al porto de corte per andare avedere li Triomphi de Cesar' che dipinge el mantegna: li quali molto li piaqueno. poi se ne venne per la via coperta in castello…"

The next written source comes from the artist himself, when Mantegna wrote to Francesco from Rome, on January 31, 1489 (figure 2.9), inquiring about the state of his painting (which was not yet finished).[17] The marquis replied on February 23, assuring Mantegna that the canvases were being well looked after.[18] In a decree from Francesco in praise of Mantegna, dated February 4, 1492 (figure 2.10), the marquis spoke highly of the painting, which was still unfinished.[19] A letter from Isabella d'Este to her husband, Francesco, from March 2, 1494, mentioned showing the *Triumphs* to the visiting Giovanni de' Medici; the wording of the letter implies that the painting was, at that time, in the Castello (where Isabella was living).[20] The fact that Calandra took care to make note of the series in his letter to the duke, and that Isabella made sure to show off the painting to a visiting guest, indicates the high value placed on the *Triumphs*, even when still unfinished.

It is unclear when Mantegna completed his work on the *Triumphs of Caesar*. In a letter from February 23, 1501, Sigismondo Cantelmo wrote to Ercole d'Este about having seen six of the paintings while in Mantua.[21] The phrasing of the letter suggests,

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[17] Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Serie Autografi, Casetta No. 7, f. 121^{r}. Reproduced in Kristeller (German), document 102 and Martindale, document 2.
[18] Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 2903, Libro 133, f. 11^{r}. Reproduced in Kristeller (German), document 103 and Martindale, document 3.
[19] Hope, "Chronology," 298. Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Libro dei decreti No. 24, f. 56^{v} et seq. Reproduced in Kristeller (German), document 115 and Martindale, document 5. In his decree, when discussing the Camera Picta, he states the work was "formerly painted" by Mantegna, but when praising the *Triumphs* Francesco says Mantegna is "now painting" the series. For a translation, see Kristeller, *Mantegna* (English), 278.
[20] Kristeller, *Mantegna* (English), 279 and Hope, "Chronology," 298. Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 2991, Libro 4, f. 33^{v}. Reproduced in Kristeller (German), document 123 and Martindale, document 9. Isabella writes: "el Mag^{eo} Iohani di medici é venuto qsta mattina qua a disnar' lho facto allogiare in corte. & dattoli per compagnia m' Iohanpetro da gonzaga & m' lodovico di vberti. Doppo disnare e venuto a visitarme, io lho acarezato & factoli vedere la camera & triomphi…"
[21] Modena, Archivio di Stato. Cancelleria Ducale, Ambasciatori, Mantova, b. 1, fasc. 48, cc. n.n. Reproduced in Kristeller (German), document 156; Martindale, document 13; and Bourne, document 158.

according to Charles Hope, that *only* six of the paintings were completed at that time, not that Cantelmo simply saw six of the nine.[22] Mantegna may have continued to work on the series until shortly before his death, in September 1506.

III. Scenario One: Lodovico as Patron

The question of which member of the Gonzaga family was the original patron of the *Triumphs of Caesar* has remained a mystery for centuries. Some art historians, starting with Giorgio Vasari in the mid-sixteenth century, believed Lodovico II Gonzaga to have commissioned the *Triumphs* from Mantegna. Lodovico (1412-1478) was the second marquis of Mantua, ruling from 1444 until his death in 1478. One of the most significant members of the Gonzaga family, Lodovico married Barbara of Brandenburg, niece of the Holy Roman Emperor—an arrangement which helped to cement the family's ties with northern Europe. Like his successors Federico and Francesco, Lodovico worked as a *condottiero*, and was made a captain of the Venice-Florence league army in 1447.[23] He also served as a commander for the Milan armies under the Sforza, a position for which he was well-paid.[24] The marquis was known to be something of an intellectual, interested in the history of his city and in Virgil, who was born in Mantua.[25] Lodovico

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In Kristeller and Martindale, the documents is listed as February 13. This letter is discussed in detail in the next chapter, see page 154, note 90, below for a translation.

[22] Hope, "Chronology," 298 and 300.

[23] Paccagnini and Paccagnini, *Palazzo Ducale*, 14.

[24] Nike Bätzner, *Andrea Mantegna, 1430/31-1506* (Köln: Könemann Verlagsgesellschaft mbH, 1998), 52 and 64 and Bourne, "Art of Diplomacy," 152.

[25] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 30 and Randolph Starn and Loren Partridge, *Arts of Power: Three Halls of State in Italy, 1300-1600* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 86. Lodovico had an interest in classical history and commissioned a series of four tapestries depicting the story of Hannibal and Scipio Africanus (now lost). Caroline Elam, "Les *Triomphes* de Mantegna: La Forme et la Vie," in *Mantegna: 1431-1506*, ed. Giovanni Agosti and Dominque Thiébaut (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2008), 364.

and his wife were both educated at the school of Vittorino da Feltre in Mantua, and the marquis later helped cultivate a humanist court in his city.[26]

Lodovico was a connoisseur and patron of the arts, and while Mantua did not have a strong community of local artists, Lodovico worked to bring in talent from outside to the city.[27] He was in contact with Donatello and Alberti; Alberti visited the city (as part of Pope Pius II's entourage during the Diet of Mantua) and advised the Gonzaga on new building projects, primarily churches.[28] The famous, and unfinished, Sala del Pisanello by the early Renaissance master Pisanello, was also possibly commissioned by Lodovico.[29]

Most significantly, Lodovico persuaded Mantegna to take up the position of court artist in 1460, several years after his initial contact with the painter. One of Mantegna's first major commissions from the Gonzaga was the decoration of the Camera Picta (also known as the Camera degli Sposi) (figures 1.2 and 1.3) in the northeast tower of the Castello di San Giorgio, the section of the Palazzo Ducale that Lodovico was working to transform into a more residential space. The room contained a bed and served as

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[26] Bourne, "Art of Diplomacy," 152 and Nicholas Webb, "Momus with little flatteries: intellectual life at the Italian courts," *Mantegna and 15th-Century Court Culture*, ed. Francis Ames-Lewis and Anka Bednarek (London: University of London, 1993), 58.

[27] Lloyd, *Mantegna*, 6 and Stefano L'Occaso, "Mantua: The Gonzaga Family (1397-1519)," in *Courts and Courtly Arts in Renaissance Italy: Art, Culture and Politics, 1395-1530*, ed. Marco Folin (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 2011), 166.

[28] Paccagnini and Paccagnini, *Palazzo Ducale*, 14 and Furlotti and Rebecchini, *Art of Mantua*, 45. Alberti returned to the city for a final time in 1470. Christoph Luitpold Frommel, "Mantegna Architetto," in *Andrea Mantegna: Impronta del Genio*, ed. Rodolfo Signorini, Viviana Rebonato, and Sara Tammaccaro (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2010), 208.

[29] Woods-Marsden, *Pisanello's*, 38-39. The frescoes are undocumented and undated. Some scholars argue for an earlier date, of 1439-1442, commissioned by Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, whereas others favor a later date, 1447-1448, and a commission by Lodovico. See Woods-Marsden for an excellent history of these paintings.

Lodovico's bedroom, but also functioned as a private audience chamber for receiving important dignitaries.[30] The space was used as a diplomatic tool, a place where the Gonzaga welcomed foreign visitors, winning favor and impressing their guests. Mantegna's frescoes reinforced the Gonzaga's power and lineage, and highlighted their connections to other important European families, while also portraying Mantua as a new Rome and the Gonzaga as inheritors of the Roman imperial model.[31]

Giorgio Vasari, in his *Lives of the Artists*, wrote that it was Lodovico who commissioned the *Triumphs* from Mantegna, for the Palazzo San Sebastiano (which was not constructed during Lodovico's lifetime).[32] Like Vasari, Ernest Law, a historian writing in the late nineteenth century, named Lodovico as patron, yet he also stated the commission was awarded to Mantegna in 1485 (that is, seven years after Lodovico's death).[33] Erica Tietze-Conrat, whose biography of Mantegna was published in 1955, believed work on the *Triumphs* might have begun towards the end of Lodovico's rule.[34]

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[30] Furlotti and Rebecchini, *Art of Mantua*, 56 and 64; Anne Dunlop, *Painted Palace: The Rise of Secular Art in Early Renaissance Italy* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), 214; and Evelyn Welch, *Art and Society in Italy 1350-1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 296.
[31] Stephen J. Campbell, "Mantegna's Camera Picta: Visuality and Pathos," *Art History* Vol. 37, No. 2 (2014): 315 and 317; Stephen J. Campbell, *The Cabinet of Eros: Renaissance Mythological Painting and the* Studiolo *of Isabella d'Este* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 238; and Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 116-117. Though today visitors to Mantua are struck most by Mantegna's ceiling, with its illusionistic oculus, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it was the portraits on the walls that would have most impressed visitors.
[32] Vasari, *Lives*, 561.
[33] Ernest Law, *The Illustrated New Guide to Hampton Court Palace with a New Catalogue of the Pictures* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1893), 58. In a later book, from 1921, Law writes instead that the commission came from Francesco. Ernest Law, *Mantegna's Triumph of Julius Caesar: As Hung in the Old Orangery Hampton Court Palace* (London: Selwyn & Blout Ltd., 1921), 24.
[34] E. Tietze-Conrat, *Mantegna: Paintings, Drawings, Engravings* (London: Phaidon Press, 1955), 183. Tietze-Conrat's book, though published in 1955, was primarily written in 1947.

Carla Cerati similarly finds Lodovico to be the most likely patron.[35] Finally, Richard Cocke argues that Lodovico must have been the patron, as certain iconography in the series indicates (to him) that the painting was commissioned during a time of peace, that is, before December 1476.[36]

Andrew Martindale, who has written the most extensive book to date on the *Triumphs of Caesar* (published in 1979), also considers Lodovico to be the patron of the series. He notes that Lodovico ruled primarily during an era of peace, leaving more time and resources available to be dedicated to the arts, and that after Mantegna finished work on the Camera Picta (completed around 1474), the marquis may have had the artist begin work on the *Triumphs*. The author notes that Lodovico and Mantegna had similar antiquarian interests, possibly working together on the iconography both in the Camera and for the *Triumphs*.[37] Martindale's main argument in favor of Lodovico, however, is that only he, and not his successors Federico or Francesco, "is known without doubt to have had the cultural interests and the academic attainments which would have enabled him to play a part in the creation and planning of the *Triumphs*."[38] This is not necessarily a compelling argument, however. As Charles Hope succinctly states in his review of Martindale's book, "The idea that Renaissance patrons were primarily concerned with the

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[35] Carla Cerati, *I Trionfi di Cesare di Andrea Mantegna e il Palazzo di S. Sebastiano in Mantova* (Mantua: Casa del Mantegna, 1989), 20. Cerati notes the arguments for both Lodovico and Francesco as possible patrons, citing Martindale and others.
[36] Richard Cocke, "The Changing Face of the Temple of Janus in Mantegna's "The Prisoners": Politics and the Patronage of the "Triumphs of Caesar"," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 55 Bd., H. 2 (1992): 273. Cocke's argument is rather convoluted and not generally accepted.
[37] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 27 and 45 and Andrew Martindale, "Andrea Mantegna: Historicus et Antiquarius" (lecture presented at the University of East Anglia, December 3, 1974), 15.
[38] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 45.

learned content of paintings, that they gave the artists detailed instructions and closely supervised their work, is an art-historical cliché."[39] In other words, a work of art with complex iconography and allegorical or historical references need not necessarily have been commissioned by a learned, humanistic individual.

One strong argument against Lodovico having commissioned the series is the lack of writing on the painting before 1486. Mantegna's time in Mantua is fairly well documented.[40] One would imagine that if Lodovico had commissioned the series before his death in 1478, some record would exist regarding the commission, Mantegna's progress, and so forth. Yet, as has already been detailed, the earliest known written account regarding the painting dates from August 1486.[41] This lack of written evidence strongly suggests, to myself and others cited below, that the series was not started in the mid-1470s and, despite his humanistic and intellectual interests, that Lodovico was not the patron of the *Triumphs*.

IV. Scenario Two: Francesco as Patron

The late dates—from 1486 onwards—of the documentation regarding Mantegna's work on the *Triumphs* is the principle reason most modern scholars have argued for

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[39] Charles Hope, "Mantegna's Classical World," review of *The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna in the Collection of her Majesty the Queen at Hampton Court*, by Andrew Martindale, *The London Review of Books* Vol. 2, No. 12 (June 19, 1980): 16-17.

[40] Elam, "Mantegna," 15. One scholar states that Mantegna is "the best documented of all the court artists of the fifteenth century." Martin Kemp, *Behind the Picture: Art and Evidence in the Italian Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 55. Paul Kristeller, in his biography of the artist, transcribed over 200 documents connected to Mantegna, see Kristeller, *Mantegna* (German). However, Martindale notes that the middle of Mantegna's career, from approximately 1460 to 1490, is not as well documented as other periods of his life. Andrew Martindale, "The Middle Age of Andrea Mantegna," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* Vol. 127, No. 5278 (September 1979): 628.

[41] Hope, "Chronology," 304.

Francesco II Gonzaga (1466-1519) as the patron of the series. Francesco became marquis in July 1484, just shy of his eighteenth birthday, after the sudden death of his father, Federico. Like his father and grandfather before him, Francesco was a *condottiero*. He fought for a number of different states, including Milan, Venice, France, the Holy Roman Empire, and Florence, and became a lieutenant general for the papal army under Pope Julius II.[42] One of Francesco's most important military campaigns was for Pope Alexander VI, when the pope awarded Francesco command of the unified Italian forces, which he lead against the French army of King Charles VIII at the river Taro, in the Battle of Fornovo, on July 6, 1495.[43] From that point forward, Francesco was often compared to Julius and Augustus Caesar.[44] In 1490 he married Isabella d'Este (figure 2.11), and though she is better known today of the pair as a patron of the arts, Francesco himself commissioned a number of projects. The only surviving work by Mantegna known for certain to have been commissioned by Francesco is the *Madonna della Vittoria* (figure 2.12), to celebrate his triumph over the French.[45]

The majority of scholars who have written on the *Triumphs* over the past century have argued that the series was commissioned by Francesco. One of the earliest biographers of Mantegna, Paul Kristeller, believed the series was begun under Francesco,

[42] Paccagnini and Paccagnini, *Palazzo Ducale*, 17 and Bourne, "Art of Diplomacy," 161.
[43] Furlotti and Rebecchini, *Art of Mantua*, 84; Bourne, "Art of Diplomacy," 162; and L'Occaso, "Mantua," 160. Though the outcome of the battle was ambiguous, Francesco claimed victory.
[44] Stephen J. Campbell, "Mantegna's Triumph: The Cultural Politics "all'antica" at the Court of Mantua, 1490-1530," in *Artists at Court: Image-Making and Identity, 1300-1550*, ed. Stephen J. Campbell (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2004), 94.
[45] Hope, "Chronology," 304 and Furlotti and Rebecchini, *Art of Mantua*, 84.

shortly after he became marquis in 1484.[46] Writing slightly later, in 1934, E. K. Waterhouse agreed that the series was commissioned by Francesco, stating that Mantegna began work around 1485.[47] Charles Hope, in his article "The Chronology of Mantegna's *Triumphs*," also believes the commission came from Francesco, though he argues that Mantegna began with the last paintings in the series, a point that shall be elaborated upon shortly.[48] Most art historians writing about the painting over the last few decades agree with the general conclusion that the series was commissioned by Francesco around 1484 or 1485.[49]

The main support for this argument is the fact that all written references to Mantegna's work on the painting date from the reign of Francesco. Additionally, the painting was not mentioned in a letter from 1483, when Lorenzo de' Medici visited Mantegna's studio, suggesting to some that the artist had not yet begun the project.[50] However, an argument against Francesco's patronage is the timing: the project was well underway in August 1486 (according to Silvestro Calandra's letter), when Francesco was only two years into his reign. Though an artist's working speed often varies greatly, Caroline Elam notes that even if Francesco had commissioned the series immediately upon becoming marquis, Mantegna would have had to work at a fast pace to have two

[46] Kristeller, *Mantegna* (English), 275. Kristeller's biography of Mantegna was published in English in 1901 and in German in 1902.
[47] E. K. Waterhouse, C. H. Collins Baker, and J. MacIntyre, "Mantegna's Cartoons at Hampton Court," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* Vol. 64, No. 372 (March 1934): 103.
[48] Hope, "Chronology," 302 and 304.
[49] See Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 142; Paccagnini and Paccagnini, *Palazzo Ducale*, 80; Lloyd, *Mantegna*, 14; Cole, *Virtue*, 157; and Furlotti and Rebecchini, *Art of Mantua*, 84.
[50] Bourne, "Art of Diplomacy," 163 and Waterhouse, Baker, and MacIntyre, "Mantegna's Cartoons," 103. Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Lettere orig. dei Gonzaga. Reproduced in Kristeller (German), document 86.

canvases finished within two years, accounting also for the detailed planning that must have been involved at the start.[51]

Martindale further argues that Francesco did not have the right cultural qualities to be the patron of the series: he was too militaristic and not sufficiently interested in antiquity.[52] While Isabella may have had such qualities that her husband lacked, Francesco certainly recognized the impressive achievement of the painting. In the decree from 1492, Francesco stated that the canvases were "almost alive and breathing so that the subject seems not represented but to actually exist."[53] Despite Francesco not being a great intellectual, he did understand the potential power of art and commissioned a number of different projects.[54] Records state that Francesco, and later Isabella, showed off the *Triumphs* to important visitors, including Duke Ercole d'Este in 1486 and Giovanni de' Medici in 1494, and were thus cognizant of the power of the series as a diplomatic tool—one that conveyed that the Gonzaga were strong military leaders, as well as cultured patrons of the arts.

Additionally, as Hope points out, the iconography of the painting is not particularly obscure or unusual: in fact, triumphal processions were a popular type of imagery during the Renaissance.[55] The series may not have been intended to have a

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[51] Elam, "Mantegna," 22 and Elam, "*Triomphes*," 363. The letter from August 1486, the first written reference to the painting, described the work in plural, suggesting at least two canvases had been painted.
[52] Hope, "Chronology," 305.
[53] Translation from Christiansen, "Genius," 39. See also Kristeller, *Mantegna* (English), 278.
[54] Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 140 and Hope, "Chronology," 305.
[55] Hope, "Classical World," 17 and Joseph Manca, *Andrea Mantegna and the Italian Renaissance* (New York: Parkstone Press, International, 2006), 127. Other examples of rooms decorated with triumphal imagery include Francesco Mantegna's *Triumph of Alexander* in the Gonzaga palace at Marmirolo in 1491 (now lost) and the mid-fourteenth century frescoes by Altichiero in the Sala Grande in the Scaligeri palace in Verona (also lost), depicting the story of the Jewish Wars of Titus and Vespasian—frescoes that were seemingly admired by Mantegna. See Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 94 and John Richards, *Altichiero: An artist*

primarily humanistic or antiquarian reading at all—the military subject matter may have been the dominant meaning.[56] The figure of Julius Caesar was also not an obscure reference, or one requiring knowledge of antiquity, as he was well known during the Renaissance as a great military leader. A common theme running through Francesco's commissions was that of military triumph, especially as related to himself and his ancestors. (Imagery of horses was also popular with Francesco, who was passionate about the family's famous steeds.)[57]

A number of scholars contend that Francesco's militaristic side is, therefore, an argument in favor of him as patron of the series.[58] However, this reasoning could be applied to all three marquises who ruled during Mantegna's time in Mantua—Lodovico, Federico, and Francesco—as all three had military careers. Any one of them would have desired to associate themselves and the Gonzaga family with the great general Julius Caesar, whose cult was widespread at the time.[59] As Hope notes, the iconography of the painting is straight-forward and non-specific, and it does not seem to represent or glorify any particular member of the Gonzaga family; there is no hidden allegorical meaning.[60] Somewhat intriguingly, the *Triumphs of Caesar* contains no portraits, emblems, or coats

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and his patrons in the Italian trecento (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 58-59. The Sala Grande frescoes were discussed more thoroughly in chapter one.

[56] Hope, "Chronology," 304.

[57] Bourne, "Art of Diplomacy," 162 and L'Occaso, "Mantua," 175. Domenico Morone also painted a battle scene for Francesco, depicting the Gonzaga's defeat of the Bonacolsi. Francesco's greatest building project was his new palace, the Palazzo San Sebastiano, where the *Triumphs* was eventually housed, discussed later in this chapter.

[58] See, for example, Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 140; Bourne, "Art of Diplomacy," 162; Mary Hollingsworth, *Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (London: J. Murray, 1996), 291; and L'Occaso, "Mantua," 175.

[59] Elam, "Mantegna," 22 and Manca, *Mantegna*, 125.

[60] Charles Hope, Elizabeth McGrath, and Michael Vickers, "A Setting for Mantegna," *The Burlington Magazine* Vol. 120, No. 906 (September 1978): 604 and Charles Hope, "The Triumphs of Caesar," in *Andrea Mantegna*, ed. Jane Martineau (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), 356.

of arms linking the work to a specific family member, or even to the Gonzaga in general.[61] The inscription in canvas II of the *Triumphs* (figure 1.14) referring to Caesar's campaign in Gaul may have been added after 1495, as an allusion to Francesco's victory over the French.[62]

While Francesco remains a popular choice for patron by most contemporary scholars, their arguments do little to prove that Francesco alone—as opposed to Lodovico or Federico—could have commissioned the series. Furthermore, the main argument, the late date of documentation surrounding the painting, indeed counter indicates Francesco's patronage. Francesco became marquis in July 1484, and by August 1486 progress on the *Triumphs* was well underway—fast work for a notoriously slow artist like Mantegna. In my assessment, Francesco, like his grandfather Lodovico, is an unlikely candidate for patron.

V. Chronology

Turning now to the chronology of the painting's execution—both the amount of time Mantegna took to complete the series (and when it was finally finished) and the order in which the canvases were created—the matter is just as unclear as when the artist commenced work. Andrew Martindale believes Mantegna began painting at the start of the procession, and that only canvas VII was entirely executed after the artist's stay in

[61] Campbell, "Mantegna's Triumph," 94 and Hope and McGrath, "Setting," 604. One scholar has gone so far as to propose that the painting was not initially commissioned by the Gonzaga at all, though few others recognize this as a likely scenario. See Francis Ames-Lewis, *The Intellectual Life of the Early Renaissance Artist* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 187.
[62] Campbell, "Mantegna's Triumph," 95 and Hope, "Triumphs," 359.

Rome from June 1488 to September 1490.[63] (This is partly why Martindale believes the commission could not have originated with Francesco, for Mantegna would not have had enough time to complete eight canvases between Francesco becoming marquis in 1484 and Mantegna's departure for Rome in 1488.) Martindale calculated how long it may have taken Mantegna to paint each canvas, noting that the detailed *Madonna della Vittoria*, in a similar medium, though slightly smaller than the canvases of the *Triumphs*, took nine months to complete. From this, Martindale extrapolates that each canvas in the series would have taken about a year to execute.[64] When one adds in time for planning and interruptions, the series, according to Martindale, would have taken at least 14 years to produce.[65] He thus proposes a possible chronology of work beginning around 1474 (under Lodovico), with six canvases completed by the time of Federico's death in 1484, two more done by 1488, and the last finished after Mantegna's return from Rome in 1490.[66] An artist's working speed, however, can vary greatly from project to project and change over time; Mantegna, for example, might have worked at a slower pace during certain years when he was simultaneously executing other commissions. Mantegna certainly would have taken a number of years to complete a work as physically large as the *Triumphs*, but attempting to pin down an exact timespan, such as Martindale's proposed 14 years, is a fruitless endeavor.

It does appear, however, that Mantegna was known for working at a slow pace; Ronald Lightbown suggests that Francesco may have forced the artist to hurry up and

[63] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 43-44 and Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 426.
[64] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 43-44.
[65] Martindale, "Historicus," 11.
[66] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 91.

finish the project—possibly cutting the series short—upon Mantegna's return from Rome in 1490.[67] Many of the scholars who argue that the commission started with Francesco around 1484 think the project was finished by 1494 or 1495.[68] Others, however, postulate that work continued into the early sixteenth century, and perhaps was left unfinished at the time of Mantegna's death.[69] As was detailed in chapter one, there may have been an intended tenth canvas (or possibly even more).[70] Mario Equicola, a humanist and author who entered the employ of Isabella d'Este in early 1508, and published his *Commentarii Mantuani* in 1521, notes that the series is incomplete.[71] That the series took many years to complete is supported by the fact that slight variations suggest that the individual canvases, which each consist of three smaller strips of cloth sewn together, were produced at different times.[72]

Charles Hope believes that Mantegna would not have executed the paintings in order, that is, starting with the first scene, but instead would have begun at the end. The artist would have appreciated that the series would take years to complete, and only the

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[67] Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 148.
[68] See Waterhouse, Baker, and MacIntyre, "Mantegna's Cartoons," 103; Law, *Mantegna's Triumph*, 28; Kristeller, *Mantegna* (English), 279; Paccagnini and Paccagnini, *Palazzo Ducale*, 8; Lloyd, *Mantegna*, 14; Campbell, "Mantegna's Triumph," 91; and Furlotti and Rebecchini, *Art of Mantua*, 84.
[69] Campbell, "Mantegna's Triumph," 91; Ettore Camesasca, *Mantegna*, trans. Susan Madocks Lister (New York: Scala, 1992), 59; and Manca, *Mantegna*, 121.
[70] A possible support for this theory, noted by Michael Vickers, is that most of the figures in canvas IX are looking behind them, as if to a tenth painting. Michael Vickers, "The Intended Setting of Mantegna's 'Triumphs of Caesar', 'Battle of the Sea Gods' and 'Bacchanals'," *The Burlington Magazine* Vol. 120, No. 903 (June 1978): 365. Carandente believes the series was intended to have 11 paintings total. Giovanni Carandente, *I Trionfi Nel Primo Rinascimento* (Turin: Edizioni Rai Radiotelevisione Italiana, 1963), 84.
[71] Mario Equicola, *Dell'Istoria di Mantova*, *2nd impressione* (Mantua: Francesco Oscanna Stampator Ducale, 1610), 212; Andrew Martindale, "A Setting for Mantegna," *The Burlington Magazine* Vol. 120, No. 907 (October 1978): 675; and Stephen Kolsky, *Mario Equicola: The Real Courtier* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1991), 103.
[72] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 126.

final scene with Caesar could function well on its own.[73] Other scholars agree that the ninth canvas is the only one capable of standing alone, due to its more complex imagery and singular subject.[74] According to Hope's theory, after painting the last grouping, numbers VII through IX, Mantegna designed the first six, possibly removing the landscape that had caused difficulties for him in VII, VIII, and IX. Hope thinks Mantegna would have painted canvas I, II, and III next, modifying the edge of canvas III so that it could be displayed next to number VII in the interim. When Cantelmo wrote of having seen six paintings in 1501, this would have been numbers I through III and VII through IX. The last set, IV through VI, was completed by late 1505 or early 1506, according to Hope. They are the strongest artistically, with more figures, as Mantegna was the most confident at that point.[75] Though many scholars believe the painting was completed by the mid-1490s, Hope feels this would have been too quick a pace for the notably slow Mantegna, and it is more likely that the artist was still working on the series until shortly before his death in 1506.[76] Stylistically, Hope also notes that if Mantegna

[73] Hope, "Chronology," 302. In a more recent article, Hope hypothesizes that Mantegna may initially have intended to paint only three scenes (including the one of Julius Caesar), and that only at a later point did the project expand. Charles Hope, "I *Trionfi di Cesare* di Andrea Mantegna," in *A casa di Andrea Mantegna: Cultura artistica a Mantova nel Quattrocento*, ed. Rodolfo Signorini (Milan: Silvana Editoriale Spa, 2006), 294.
[74] Anthony S. Halliday, "The Literary Sources of Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar*," in *The Court of the Gonzaga in the Age of Mantegna, 1450-1550*, ed. Cesare Mozzarelli, Robert Oresko, and Leandro Ventura (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1997), 192-193.
[75] Hope, "Chronology," 302-303.
[76] Hope, "Triumphs," 351. Hope notes that the total surface area of the paintings is almost 70 square meters, so twenty years is not too slow a pace in actuality. Hope, "Chronology," 300. The main argument for the paintings having been completed by the mid-1490s is that Mantegna was occupied by then with other work, including the *Madonna della Vittoria* in 1495 and paintings for Isabella's *studiolo*. See Kristeller, *Mantegna* (English), 279.

had created the canvases in order, his style would have improved and then declined, an unlikely scenario.[77]

Another question regarding the chronology concerns which canvases were completed before Mantegna left for Rome in 1488 (to work on the chapel in the Villa Belvedere for Pope Innocent VIII), and which were executed after his return to Mantua in September 1490. Martindale believes only the *Captives* (number VII) was painted after Mantegna's return from Rome, emphasizing the influence of ancient art and architecture on the scene.[78] Caroline Elam disagrees, noting that Mantegna's vision of the ancient world was shaped by the monuments of Padua and Verona, where the artist had spent time before moving to Mantua, and informed very little by his stay in Rome.[79] Lightbown similarly holds that Mantegna had exposure to antiquities from an early age, and thus his time in Rome likely did little to affect his style.[80] Furthermore, Elam and others argue that the entire cycle was planned out in preliminary form in drawings before painting began.[81] Tietze-Conrat agrees, adding that some antiquarian details might have been added after Mantegna's trip to Rome, but generally the composition did not change.[82] Hope also points out that none of the imagery in canvas VII directly quotes any specific Roman buildings, suggesting it may have been painted before the artist's trip. Hope believes that canvases VII through IX were begun before Mantegna departed

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[77] Hope, "Triumphs," 353.
[78] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 44 and Elam, "Mantegna," 21-22. Hope, however, notes that the prominent capital in canvas VII closely resembles the ancient Porta Leoni in Verona, which Mantegna would have known. See Hope, "Triumphs," 367.
[79] Elam, "Mantegna," 21-22; Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 77; and Bätzner, *Mantegna*, 20.
[80] Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 151.
[81] Elam, "Mantegna," 22; Lloyd, *Mantegna*, 17; and Tietze-Conrat, *Mantegna*, 23.
[82] Tietze-Conrat, *Mantegna*, 183.

for Rome and then completed upon his return.[83] In general, none of the scenes that may have been painted after Mantegna's time in Rome seem to become more archaeologically accurate, suggesting that his time there had little effect on the iconography of the *Triumphs*.[84] Overall, it is impossible to date the individual canvases precisely, or to determine for certain which works were completed before and after Mantegna's sojourn in Rome.

VI. Location

The original intended location of the painting is as much a mystery as its chronology of execution. In general, most scholars believe that the canvases were planned to be displayed along one wall in a room, slightly above eye level—however, as shall be discussed, others argue that the paintings were arranged in groups, around the walls of a room, somewhere in the Palazzo Ducale.[85] Few hold that the canvases were intended from the start to be used as ephemeral decorations for theatrical productions, as discussed in chapter three, though this is, of course, a possibility. The Palazzo Ducale in Mantua consists of a number of buildings, some constructed during the medieval period by the Bonacolsi, others added in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries by the Gonzaga, and still more erected into the eighteenth century.[86] The Palazzo is located in the northeast part of Mantua, between the Lago Inferiore and the Piazza Sordello. By the

[83] Hope, "Chronology," 302-303 and Hope, "Triumphs," 367. Manca also points out that the landscape background of the painting does not resemble the city of Rome. Manca, *Mantegna*, 133.
[84] Ames-Lewis, *Intellectual*, 127.
[85] Christiansen, "Genius," 40 and Martindale, *Triumphs*, 35.
[86] Paccagnini and Paccagnini, *Palazzo Ducale*, 26.

early sixteenth century, it had evolved into a huge complex, occupying almost 35,000 square meters.[87]

The Gonzaga palace in Mantegna's time consisted of two main structures, the Castello di San Giorgio and the sprawling Corte—with more structures added to the latter over the course of the Quattrocento.[88] The palace topography has changed greatly over the centuries, with the earliest known plan from only 1574; Martindale has done an impressive job attempting to reconstruct it.[89] He believes that the only building with space large enough to display the *Triumphs* was the Palazzo della Corte (typically referred to simply as the "Corte"), not the Castello. He notes that the lighting is consistent in all nine canvases and that Mantegna likely intended the fictive light to align with the actual light in the room, as he did in the Camera Picta. Thus, the series would have been displayed all along one wall in a long room, with windows opposite. The borders between the individual canvases align, with an intended gap of about 28 centimeters, likely for pilasters.[90] The first written evidence of the *Triumphs*, from August 1486, records it being in the Corte, though this does not necessarily mean it was its intended home. It seems probable that, as the canvases were so large, Mantegna was unable to work on them in his own residence.[91] He was, therefore, perhaps provided a

[87] Adami, "Gonzagas' palace," 2.
[88] Cerati, *Trionfi*, 24 and Woods-Marsden, *Pisanello's*, 3.
[89] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 36.
[90] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 14 and 35.
[91] At this point, construction of Mantegna's house (discussed below) was not yet completed, and the artist was living first outside the city and then in various rented accommodations within Mantua. See Bätzner, *Mantegna*, 76.

space in the "Corte vecchia" to work on the series, and it was in that space that Ercole d'Este saw the painting in progress in 1486.[92]

The Corte was a spacious building where many members of the family lived and where guests were entertained. It was an important structure, and thus an appropriate site for paintings such as the *Triumphs*. Martindale finds that within the Corte, only the Corridoio del Passerino (figure 2.13), which measures over 60 meters long, would have been large enough to accommodate the nine paintings. Each canvas measures on average 270 centimeters high by 280 centimeters wide (roughly nine feet by nine feet), and, accounting for gaps between the canvases for pilasters, to be displayed in a linear fashion would have required around 28 meters of uninterrupted wall space.[93] Originally, the Corridoio was a long gallery that ran the full length of the second floor of the Palazzo del Capitano, with windows on one side.[94] Sometime in the fourteenth century, it was divided into smaller rooms, as evidenced by the paintings high on the wall (figure 2.14). Given that these dividing walls were essentially non-weight bearing partitions (five to eight centimeters thick), their removal to accommodate the display of the *Triumphs* likely would have been a relatively straightforward task.[95] The space was more than long enough—in fact, it could have held twice as many canvases. The room was also situated

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[92] Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 142.
[93] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 41 and Wendy Stedman Sheard, Review of *The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna in the Collection of her Majesty the Queen at Hampton Court*, by Andrew Martindale, *Renaissance Quarterly* Vol. 35, No. 1 (Spring 1982): 82.
[94] The Corridoio is located on the *piano nobile*, the level referred to as the first floor in Europe and as the second floor in the United States. See Amadei and Marani, *I Gonzaga*, 272-273, for a clear plan of the Palazzo Ducale.
[95] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 41-42. The dividing walls in the corridor have been erected and taken down a number of times. The space was re-divided in 1773, but today is back to being a long passageway, after the partitions were removed in the early twentieth century. Ferruccio Canali, *Mantua: New Practical Guide* (Florence: Casa Editrice Perseus, 2015), 11.

near the area of the palace containing the Pisanello frescoes, and other rooms used for entertaining guests, such as the Sala dei Papai. A "Corridoio de' Trionfi," as Martindale calls it, would have been an impressive addition to this collection of rooms.[96] Martindale's theory, however, is not widely accepted: Lightbown finds it "inconceivable" that a series of such expense and importance as the *Triumphs* would have been displayed in a hallway, an insignificant part of Renaissance structures.[97]

Another option proposed by some scholars is that the painting was intended to be hung in the Castello, specifically in the large *sala* that, in the fifteenth century, was adjacent to the Camera Picta on the *piano nobile*.[98] Lightbown argues that Francesco wanted the *Triumphs* to be displayed in this space to complement the decorations undertaken by Lodovico, but that, in the end, the canvases were never actually installed in the Castello.[99]

Stylistically, the canvases can be grouped into three sets of three (an observation made by Martindale).[100] Lightbown believes Mantegna made these divisions as the paintings were intended to be displayed in the *sala* in the Castello, along three walls.[101]

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[96] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 41.
[97] Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 147.
[98] Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 142; Lloyd, *Mantegna*, 16; Giovanni Rodella and Stefano L'Occaso, ""questi logiamenti de castello siano forniti et adaptati…". Transformazioni e interventi in Castello all'epoca del Mantegna," in *Andrea Mantegna e i Gonzaga: Rinascimento nel Castello di San Giorgio*, ed. Filippo Trevisani (Milan: Electa, 2006), 26; and Renato Berzaghi, *Il palazzo Ducale di Mantova* (Milan: Electa, 1992), 22-23. Among the scholars who support the view of the canvases having been intended for the *sala* is Giovanni Paccagnini, a former superintendent of Mantua who wrote a book on the Palazzo Ducale complex in 1974. See Paccagnini, *Mantegna*, 45 and Paccagnini and Paccagnini, *Palazzo Ducale*, 80.
[99] Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 142.
[100] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 35.
[101] Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 147. Hope, however, notes that before the space was divided, both long walls originally contained windows, and that "neither could probably have accommodated more than three paintings." Hope, "Chronology," 308, note 28. The *sala* has been greatly modified since the mid-fifteenth century—already by the end of the century changes were being made for Francesco II and Isabella d'Este and again in the early sixteenth century for Federico II and his wife—and it is difficult to be certain of its

The fact that canvases I through III have a different background from IV through VI, for Lightbown, adds support to this theory, that each group was intended for a different wall. The consistent lighting was simply meant to unify the series and is not indicative of the intention that the canvases were to be seen in one long row.[102] Another possibility, if Mantegna had planned to create ten paintings, was that the works were arranged around the rectangular space with two groups of three on the short walls, and one sequence of four canvases on the wall across from the windows.[103]

However, the room adjacent to the Camera Picta initially measured approximately 18 by 11 meters, with windows on both long sides (overlooking the interior courtyard and out towards the lake), and has since been divided in two the long way.[104] During the time of Lodovico II, the two rooms near the Camera Picta were referred to as the *sala* and *salotto*—upon exiting the stairs, one would have passed first through the *sala* and then the *salotto*, before entering the Camera Picta. The later construction of the Stanza degli Stemmi and the Stanza del Fregio has made it difficult to determine the precise shape of the original rooms.[105] Today, the large hall (figure 2.15) that leads into the Camera Picta (known as the Salone degli Affreschi or the Sala di Esposizione) measures approximately 19.6 meters long by 6.4 meters wide, with four windows along the wall overlooking the lake. As the room stands now, considering the placement of doors and windows, it could

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exact appearance during Mantegna's time. Clifford M. Brown, *Isabella d'Este in the Ducal Palace in Mantua* (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 2005), 35.

[102] Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 148-149.

[103] Lloyd, *Mantegna*, 19.

[104] See Hope, "Chronology," 308, note 28.

[105] Upon entering the Stanza degli Stemmi from the staircase today, the Sala del Fregio is the room immediately to one's left, not open to the public.

not comfortably accommodate all nine of the *Triumphs*. Running parallel to the Salone degli Affreschi is the Stanza degli Stemmi (sometimes also referred to as the Sala di Ingresso) (figure 2.16). This room is approximately the same length, though slightly narrower at 4.6 meters across. It contains three windows overlooking the interior courtyard, and also would not be able to contain all nine paintings. During the fifteenth century, when it seems the Salone degli Affreschi and Stanza degli Stemmi were not two distinct rooms, but one large space with windows on both sides, to accommodate all nine *Triumphs* the canvases would have needed to be displayed between windows and doors—rather diluting the processional effect. If Mantegna had intended to create more than nine paintings, as seems possible, the room(s) adjacent to the Camera Picta would have been certainly too small.

Regardless of whether the Castello was intended as the painting's permanent home, it does seem that it was displayed there at times, at least temporarily: the letter written by Isabella d'Este to her husband in 1494 implies that the canvases were then in the Castello.[106]

Hope agrees that the painting was perhaps initially intended for the large *sala* in the Castello next to the Camera Picta, but that after the series expanded to nine paintings it was decided to construct a room in the new Palazzo San Sebastiano to accommodate the *Triumphs*.[107] As mentioned above, the Castello di San Giorgio, formerly a defensive structure, underwent renovations starting in 1459, overseen by Luca Fancelli, in

[106] Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 142 and Hope, "Chronology," 298. See page 69, note 20, above.
[107] Hope, "Triumphs," 353. If, as Hope argues in his essay from 2006, Mantegna initially intended to paint only three scenes then, Hope posits, the *sala* next to the Camera would have been a suitable location, as three canvases could fit along one of the room's long walls. Hope, "*Trionfi di Cesare*," 294.

preparation for the arrival of Pope Pius II. The Castello was converted into a living space for Lodovico and his family so that the pope and his entourage could stay in the more comfortable Corte.[108] Martindale notes, however, that although the Castello was altered to contain private apartments and offices, the Corte was still the primary space for entertainment, and thus a more appropriate setting for the *Triumphs*.[109] And though Lodovico and Barbara continued to live in the Castello after the pope left, the Corte became the main living space for other members of the Gonzaga family.[110] Upon becoming marquis in 1484, Francesco lived initially in the Castello di San Giorgio, eventually moving into the new palace he built for himself, the Palazzo San Sebastiano, where he died in 1519.[111]

It is distinctly possible that the *Triumphs* was intended for a building yet to be realized, which is why it was executed on canvas, enabling it to be more mobile. Lightbown posits that perhaps the painting had no permanent home prior to its installation in San Sebastiano, for he finds it would have been very unusual to strip a room, especially a significant public space, of such important decorations.[112] Francis Ames-Lewis also thinks that the *Triumphs* did not originally have any permanent home.[113] Equicola, writing in 1521, tells us that the series was moved to San Sebastiano for its own safety, suggesting that wherever the painting had hung previously was not

[108] Bourne, "Art of Diplomacy," 157.
[109] Martindale, "Historicus," 12.
[110] Woods-Marsden, *Pisanello's*, 7-8.
[111] Clifford M. Brown, "The Palazzo di San Sebastiano (1506-1512) and the Art Patronage of Francesco II Gonzaga, Fourth Marquis of Mantua," *Gazette des beaux-arts* Vol. 129, No. 1539 (April 1997): 33.
[112] Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 149.
[113] Ames-Lewis, *Intellectual*, 187.

adequate.[114] A number of contemporary references suggest that the series functioned as mobile objects in the 1490s and early 1500s, a topic which will be explored in greater depth in the next chapter.[115] Another argument in favor of the painting having no permanent home is the lack of contemporary documentation mentioning any sort of "Hall of Triumphs."[116] However, Martindale and others, myself included, feel it to be highly unlikely that such an important commission would have been undertaken without an intended home for the painting in mind.[117]

E. K. Waterhouse proposed another possible scenario in an article from 1934. He believed Mantegna himself came up with the plan for the series, and convinced the young Marquis Francesco to provide a space for the painting. This initial room was too small for Mantegna's intentions, but he accepted the location with the hope that, once the series progressed and Francesco realized the significance of the painting, the marquis would find a better space for the *Triumphs*. For this reason, his theory suggests, Mantegna painted the works on canvas to allow for the eventual move to their permanent home. However, it soon became apparent to Mantegna, in Waterhouse's theory, that Francesco was never going to provide an adequate home for the painting, so the artist ultimately abandoned the project.[118]

Eventually the painting was moved to Francesco's Palazzo San Sebastiano (figure 2.17), built between 1506 and 1508 under the direction of Gerolamo Arcari, which

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[114] Equicola, *Mantova*, 212 and Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 149. Equicola may be referring to the *Triumphs* having been used for outdoor theatrical performances, and thus exposed to the elements.
[115] Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 149.
[116] Cerati, *Trionfi*, 26.
[117] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 31.
[118] Waterhouse, Baker, and MacIntyre, "Mantegna's Cartoons," 103.

became Francesco's primary residence for the last decade of his life.[119] It cannot be said for certain when the canvases were installed there, but documentary evidence indicates that they were definitely in place by 1512.[120] In San Sebastiano, the *Triumphs* was housed in a *sala* on the *piano nobile*, specially designed for its display (with pilasters in between), measuring 32 meters long by 7 meters wide, with a ceiling over six meters above the floor (figure 2.18).[121] The canvases were hung on the south wall above a wooden dado (likely with an architrave or entablature above), with the opposite north wall containing six windows overlooking the garden; the room had an impressive wooden ceiling painted blue, with gold lattice work.[122] It is possible that Mantegna himself was involved in designing the space to house his painting.[123] Charles Rosenberg calls the room the "Sala di Triumphi," describing it as a long banqueting hall, a significant space,

[119] Cerati, *Trionfi*, 49; Bourne, "Art of Diplomacy," 163; and Bourne, *Francesco II*, 209.
[120] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 93. Intriguingly, most mid- to late-sixteenth-century sources that discuss the *Triumphs* at San Sebastiano mention only seven canvases, raising the possibility that, for whatever reason, Francesco elected to install only seven of the nine paintings. One account from 1592 transcribes inscriptions from canvases II, IV, VII, and IX, though does not specify which other three canvases were on display and which two were missing. See Mary Harris Bourne, "Out of the Shadow of Isabella: The Artistic Patronage of Francesco II Gonzaga, Fourth Marquis of Mantua (1484-1519)" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1997), 303, note 47 and note 49 and Christiansen, "Genius," 42.
[121] Hope, "Chronology," 300; Brown, "San Sebastiano," 145; and Bourne, *Francesco II*, 194. The Palazzo San Sebastiano has undergone much alteration since the early sixteenth century, including the raising of the roof to accommodate a third story, the dividing of interior spaces, the addition of a second wing, and the enclosure of the garden. The Sala dei Trionfi today maintains its same general shape as under Francesco II, though the ceiling was lowered at a later point. The original pilasters separating the *Triumphs* were seemingly later removed and installed in the Stanza di Giuditta in the Palazzo Ducale, where they remain today. See Bourne, "Patronage of Francesco," 290 and 302.
[122] Bourne, *Francesco II*, 190 and 196 and Anthony Blunt, *Andrea Mantegna: The Triumph of Caesar* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1975), 14. This ceiling was later removed from San Sebastiano, divided in two, and installed in the Stanza di Giuditta and Stanza del Crogiolo in the Palazzo Ducale. See Bourne, "Patronage of Francesco," 289, note 15.
[123] Frommel, "Mantegna Architetto," 216. Cerati, however, notes that work did not begin until April 1506, and by that point Mantegna was already unwell, dying shortly later in September 1506. See Cerati, *Trionfi*, 27.

used to mark important occasions and honor distinguished guests.[124] Though most rooms in Italian Renaissance palaces did not have precise functions, a *sala* was a specific site used for entertaining and receiving guests—a place for important banquets, such as a marriage feast.[125] In November 1512, for example, the *sala* with the *Triumphs* was the site of the *solemne cena* honoring the Duke of Milan and, also that year, functioned as a stateroom during the Imperial Diet in Mantua.[126] Francesco additionally identified San Sebastiano as a place for entertainment and theatrical performances, a topic that shall be discussed in greater depth in the next chapter.

Not long after the series was installed in the Palazzo San Sebastiano, the first of two paintings by Lorenzo Costa was added to the decorations of the *sala*. After Mantegna's death, Costa moved from Bologna to Mantua in 1506 or 1507, to take over the position of court artist, remaining until his death in 1535.[127] Costa created two works to accompany the *Triumphs*, likely intended to be displayed at opposite ends of the *sala*.[128] The subject matter of the first painting (now lost), to be presented on the short wall to the left of the series, was a *Sacrifice of Hercules*, with Vasari claiming that the image included portraits of Francesco and three of his children.[129]

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[124] Bourne, "Art of Diplomacy," 164 and Cerati, *Trionfi*, 71. After Francesco's death, however, the Palazzo San Sebastiano was no longer a major residence for the Gonzaga.
[125] Woods-Marsden, *Pisanello's*, 127-128.
[126] Molly Bourne, "Renaissance Husbands and Wives as Patrons of Art: The *Camerini* of Isabella d'Este and Francesco II Gonzaga," in *Beyond Isabella: Secular Women Patrons of Art in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Sheryl E. Reiss and David G. Wilkins (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2001), 107.
[127] Clifford M. Brown, "Lorenzo Costa" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1966), 458; Guido Rebecchini, *Private Collectors in Mantua, 1500-1630* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2002), 42; and Cerati, *Trionfi*, 52.
[128] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 94.
[129] Brown, "San Sebastiano," 145-146; Martindale, *Triumphs*, 94; and Vasari, *Lives*, 481-482. The date of this painting is uncertain, though Brown states that it was unlikely to have been created before 1510. See Brown, "Lorenzo Costa," 458.

The second painting for the *sala*, signed and dated 1522 and now in the National Gallery of Prague, depicts the *Triumph of Federico Gonzaga* (figure 2.19).[130] Vasari described the work, which would have been displayed on the right wall, as being painted to suggest its continuation from the main procession.[131] The large canvas, twice the size of one of Mantegna's scenes, shows a contemporary triumph, with antiquarian details, such as banners, borrowed from Mantegna's series.[132] The imagery celebrates Federico II's promotion to the rank of Captain General of the Church.[133] Equicola suggests that Costa was asked to create the pair of paintings to make up for perceived deficiencies in the *Triumphs*, adding some "pomp" to the series.[134] By the time of Federico II's death in 1540, San Sebastiano had fallen into a state of neglect and was rarely used, yet the *Triumphs* remained there through the sixteenth century.[135]

Eventually the painting was removed from the Palazzo San Sebastiano; Duke Vincenzo I returned the painting to the Palazzo Ducale in the early seventeenth century, where a special showroom had been prepared—indicating that, over a century after its creation, the *Triumphs* was still valued (and that a new Gonzaga duke was also eager to

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[130] Brown, "Lorenzo Costa," 387. The painting was likely commissioned by Francesco, but not completed until after his death (see Bourne, *Francesco II*, 197). Federico II (ruled 1519-1540) was the son and successor of Francesco II, receiving the title of Duke in 1530.
[131] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 94 and Vasari, *Lives*, 481-482.
[132] Brown, "Lorenzo Costa," 279-280.
[133] Campbell, *Cabinet*, 192; Brown, "Lorenzo Costa," 387; and Emilio Negro and Nicosetta Roio, *Lorenzo Costa 1460-1535* (Modena: Artioli Editore, 2001), 133-134.
[134] Equicola, *Mantova*, 212 and Martindale, *Triumphs*, 94. Michael Vickers, in an article from 1978, proposed a different theory for the display of the *Triumphs*. Before being installed in San Sebastiano, Vickers argued that the series was intended to be displayed with other works by Mantegna, namely (a likely painted version of) *The Battle of the Sea Gods* and the *Bacchanals*. See Vickers, "Intended Setting." This idea has been generally rejected by other scholars. See Hope and McGrath, "Setting," and Martindale, "Setting."
[135] Caroline Karpinski, "Mantegna's *Triumphs* in Andreani's Form," *Apollo* Vol. 153, No. 472 (June 2001): 43.

associate himself with Julius Caesar, as his predecessors had before him).[136] This move, which made the *Triumphs* more visible, was perhaps made at the encouragement of Peter Paul Rubens, who worked for the Gonzaga from 1600 to 1608.[137] The canvases were hung in the Galleria della Mostra (figure 2.20) in the Corte Nuova (part of the Palazzo Ducale), a long room measuring 64 meters with windows on one side.[138] The Galleria della Mostra was the most important gallery in the building, a significant site of display.[139] The *Triumphs* was displayed there with a number of other works, including paintings by Titian, Giulio Romano, and Dosso Dossi, and Caravaggio's *Death of the Virgin*, alongside classical sculptures.[140] Not all of these paintings were commissioned works of art; the Caravaggio, for example, was purchased by the Gonzaga at the urging of Rubens.[141] In an inventory from January 12, 1627, the *Triumphs* was still listed as being displayed in the Galleria della Mostra.[142]

Though there are spaces in the Palazzo Ducale that might have physically accommodated all nine *Triumphs* when they were first created, none of the proposed

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[136] Paccagnini, *Mantegna*, 45; Adami, "Gonzagas' palace," 2; and Bourne, *Francesco II*, 187. It is uncertain precisely when the painting was taken from San Sebastiano; it is recorded as having still been in place there in 1599. See Bourne, "Patronage of Francesco," 288, note 14. In early 1605, some paintings were already on display in the Galleria della Mostra, with construction on the space completed by 1612. Wolfram Prinz, *Galleria storia e tipologia di uno spazio architettonico*, ed. Claudia Cieri Via and trans. Alessandro Califano (Ferrara: Edizioni Panini, 1988), 29-30. According to Martindale, the series was moved at least six times to various locations in Mantua, before being sent to England. Martindale, *Triumphs*, 19.

[137] Barbara Furlotti and Guido Rebecchini, "'Rare and Unique in this World': Mantegna's 'Triumph' and the Gonzaga Collection," in *Charles I: King and Collector*, ed. Per Rumberg and Desmond Shawe-Taylor (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2018), 54.

[138] Bourne, "Art of Diplomacy," 181; Furlotti and Rebecchini, "Rare and Unique," 54; and Thomas Arlt, *Andrea Mantegna, Triumph Caesars: Ein Meisterwerk der Renaissance in neuem Licht* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2005), 51.

[139] Prinz, *Galleria*, 29-30.

[140] Furlotti and Rebecchini, "Rare and Unique," 54 and Berzaghi, *Palazzo Ducale*, 54.

[141] Charles Scribner III, *Peter Paul Rubens* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1989), 16.

[142] Paccagnini, *Mantegna*, 45 and Kristeller, *Mantegna* (English), 280.

rooms are ideal. The *corridoio* appears too insignificant of a location for such a monumental commission, and the *sala* adjacent to the Camera Picta would have necessitated the canvases being displayed in groups (as opposed to all in a row), diminishing the processional effect. Another possibility is that the painting was not conceived to be displayed in any specific indoor location, but from the start was intended to be used as processional or theatrical decorations. Though I believe it unlikely that this was the case, this possibility (and the *Triumphs* eventual use in theatrical contexts) will be discussed at length in chapter three. The most likely scenario, I hold, is that a room was to be created specifically to house the *Triumphs of Caesar*, but that that plan was interrupted. If we consider Federico as a potential patron, this scenario becomes a strong possibility.

VII. Scenario Three: Federico as Patron

Having now considered both Lodovico and Francesco as potential patrons, I will turn to a scenario rarely entertained: the possibility that Federico, son of Lodovico and father to Francesco, was the patron of the *Triumphs*. Specifically, I will argue that Federico commissioned the *Triumphs of Caesar* from Mantegna while simultaneously having a new, modern palace constructed by Luca Fancelli, with the intention of displaying the *Triumphs* there, in a purpose-built room. Only two scholars have seriously considered Federico I Gonzaga (1441-1484) as a potential patron for the series. The first was Caroline Elam, in her contribution to the catalog accompanying the exhibition "Splendours of the Gonzaga," held at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1981. In her

essay "Mantegna at Mantua," Elam discusses the artist's employment with the Gonzaga in general, and the various projects he completed for the family. In the last few pages of her paper, Elam entertains the possibility that Federico may have been the patron of the series.[143] David Chambers, in 2010, expanded on Elam's hypothesis, focusing his attention primarily on Federico's military career, arguing that the *Triumphs* was a visual expression of Federico's desire for military glory.[144] Close examination of the timeline and other factors discussed below suggest to me that, in terms of the painting's patron, Federico is a very strong candidate.

Federico's tenure as marquis was brief, beginning in 1478 and ending with his sudden death from fever in 1484; little is known about his life and rule compared to his more famous father and son. Federico married Margaret of Wittelsbach, sister of the duke of Bavaria, on June 7, 1463, helping to cement the family's connections to Germany and the Holy Roman Empire.[145] The Gonzaga also had ties with the French, as Federico orchestrated a marriage in 1481 between his daughter, Chiara, and Gilbert de Bourbon,

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[143] Elam, "Mantegna," particularly page 21-22. Elam reiterates some of her ideas in an essay for the 2008 Louvre catalog accompanying the museum's Mantegna exhibition. See Elam, "*Triomphes*," 363. Steadman Sheard, in her review of Martindale's book, also suggests that Federico should be considered as a possible patron, though does not go into detail. Sheard, "Review," 82.

[144] David S. Chambers, "Il Marchese Federico I Gonzaga (1441-1484) e *Il Trionfo di Giulio Cesare* di Andrea Mantegna," in *Andrea Mantegna: Impronta del Genio*, ed. Rodolfo Signorini, Viviana Rebonato, and Sara Tammaccaro (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2010), 513. Chambers does not offer a hypothesis for where Federico may have intended to display the painting. Most recently, in the 2018 catalog for the Royal Academy of Arts exhibition "Charles I: King and Collector," Barbara Furlotti and Guido Rebecchini write that though the series was likely commissioned by Francesco II "the possibility exists that it was initiated for Francesco's father, Marchese Federico, for his grand palace, known as Domus Nova." Furlotti and Rebecchini, "Rare and Unique," 55.

[145] Rodolfo Signorini, *Opus Hoc Tenue: La "archetipata"* Camera Dipinta *detta "degli Sposi" di Andrea Mantegna* (Mantua: MP Marketing Pubblicità, 2007), 49; M. J. Rodríguez-Saldago, "Terracotta and Iron: Mantuan Politics (ca. 1450-ca. 1550)," in *The Court of the Gonzaga in the Age of Mantegna: 1450-1550*, ed. Cesare Mozzarelli, Robert Oresko, and Leandro Ventura (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1997), 25; and L'Occaso, "Mantua," 160.

count of Montpensier and a cousin to the king of France.[146] These connections were important, for, as a small state situated between the more powerful cities of Milan and Venice, Mantua needed the help of friendly allies and relied on important connections for military contracts and such.[147]

Like other members of the Gonzaga family, Federico was a *condottiero*, and had success on the battlefield. There was substantial strife during Federico's reign, a period dominated by war, including Venetian claims against the Este family of Ferrara (allies of the Gonzaga); the aftermath of the assassination of Galeazzo Sforza, Duke of Milan; and the Pazzi conspiracy in Florence.[148] In the early 1480s, Federico fought alongside the Florentines (while simultaneously working to pay off a debt to the Medici bank).[149] As a *condottiero*, Federico was a captain in the pay of the Sforza—initially subordinate to Federico da Montefeltro, he eventually became general himself.[150] In 1483, he served as a captain general for the army of Milan, fighting in the Brescia military campaign with some success.[151] Most of the political strife in northern Italy was resolved by summer 1484, with peace arriving shortly before Federico's death.[152]

Though Federico may not have been an intellectual on par with his father, he was known to be a connoisseur of the arts. A lover of antiquities (like Mantegna), Federico had two *studioli* where he housed his collection of classical bronzes and marbles—

[146] Rodríguez-Saldago, "Terracotta," 25; L'Occaso, "Mantua," 160; and Bourne, "Art of Diplomacy," 161.
[147] Frigo, "Small," 150-151 and Woods-Marsden, *Pisanello's*, 48.
[148] Cocke, "Changing Face," 272 and Martindale, *Triumphs*, 45.
[149] Elam, "Mantegna," 20.
[150] Amadei and Marani, *I Gonzaga*, 49
[151] L'Occaso, "Mantua," 160.
[152] Cocke, "Changing Face," 272 and Martindale, *Triumphs*, 45.

possibly the first Renaissance *studiolo* in Mantua.[153] Federico inherited some art from his father, including the famous ancient *Felix Gem*, now in Oxford. It is unclear what happened to Federico's own collection after his death, though likely it was absorbed by Francesco or, later, his wife Isabella. Unfortunately, very little is known about Federico's "studiolo nostro vecchio," other than that it was moved from the Castello di San Giorgio to the Domus Nova.[154]

Federico's major domestic project during his brief tenure as marquis was the construction of the Domus Nova (figure 2.21), commissioned from Luca Fancelli—superintendent of the most important Gonzaga buildings—in 1480, but not completed during Federico's lifetime.[155] Federico wanted this new building to epitomize the modern style and stand apart from the more medieval structures that made up the Palazzo Ducale. To that end, he wrote to Federico da Montefeltro, asking for the plans of the contemporary Palazzo Ducale of Urbino.[156] The Domus Nova was located not far from the Lago Inferiore, behind the old district of Santa Croce, attached to the existing Palazzo Ducale.[157] The palace is U-shaped with three wings around a central courtyard (figure

[153] Elam, "Mantegna," 21 and Clifford M. Brown, with Anna Maria Lorenzoni, "Collecting Greco-Roman Art in Mantua in the Age of Federico I Gonzaga and the Documentation for the Date of Isabella d'Este's Move to the Corte Vecchia," in *Quaderni di Palazzo Te*, ed. Renzo Zorzi (Milan: Electa, 1996), 19.
[154] Brown, "Collecting," 19.
[155] Paccagnini and Paccagnini, *Palazzo Ducale,* 15 and Burns, "Architecture," 28. In some literature the Domus Nova is referred to as the Nova Domus.
[156] Elam, "Mantegna," 21 and Paul Davies, "Quattrocento palaces in Mantua and Ferrara," in *Mantegna and 15th-Century Court Culture*, ed. Francis Ames-Lewis and Anka Bednarek (London: University of London, 1993), 78.
[157] L'Occaso, "Mantua," 174; Amadei and Marani, *I Gonzaga*, 175; and Davies, "Quattrocento," 77.

2.22), and a large garden to the rear.[158] (There may at one point have been a fourth side, a simple screen-wall, to create a square.)[159]

In 1481, work was continuing on the east wing, likely the part of the building where Federico would have lived.[160] It is on this east wing, facing the garden and lake, that today we can see a semblance of Fancelli's original Renaissance façade, which follows the architectural dictates of Alberti (for whom Fancelli had worked in his youth).[161] This façade was visible from the lake, and was designed to create a strong initial impression of order, symmetry, and monumentality.[162] Fancelli's design was constantly being modified over the years, both while Federico was still alive and then later, after the marquis's death. The project seems to have been a collaborative one, with Francesco di Giorgio supplying designs for the fireplaces in 1484 (at Federico's request) and Mantegna designing the window frames.[163] The structure was finally finished in the

[158] Canali, *Mantua Guide*, 22. The courtyard, formerly the Piazza Paradiso and today called the Piazza Giovanni Paccagnini, is now primarily a parking lot. A garden was constructed at the same time as the Domus Nova, but was re-designed in 1603 as the Giardino dei Semplici. Stefano L'Occaso, *The Ducal Palace Mantua* (Milan: Electa, 2015), 70.
[159] L'Occaso, *Ducal Palace*, 81. This screen-wall would have been demolished in the early seventeenth century, when extensive remodeling was done to the building. Some have suggested that Fancelli intended the building to have four wings, but no evidence supports this. In fact, the Palazzo Gonzaga at Revere, built in the mid-fifteenth century under Lodovico, has a similar U-shaped plan (although some think this palace was also intended to have a fourth wall, see Davies, "Quattrocento," 76).
[160] Amadei and Marani, *I Gonzaga*, 175-176. This east wing, greatly altered over the centuries, particularly in the late sixteenth century when it was transformed into the apartments of Eleonora de' Medici, now contains a library and offices. Canali, *Mantua Guide*, 22.
[161] The façade has undergone many transformations over time; a restoration in the 1940s attempted to bring it back to Fancelli's design, but it was not entirely successful and there are still some alterations from the original plan. Canali, *Mantua Guide*, 22; L'Occaso, *Ducal Palace*, 82; and Davies, "Quattrocento," 77.
[162] L'Occaso, *Ducal Palace*, 82.
[163] Davies, "Quattrocento," 78.

late sixteenth century, under Duke Vincenzo I, with many changes to the original plans.[164]

At the same time, Federico was working on urgent renovations to the old Corte, which was in a bad state of disrepair: part of the ceiling in the Sala del Pisanello collapsed in December 1480, as did a wall in Federico's bedroom earlier that same year.[165] Lodovico had moved the family to the Castello, but Federico seemed eager to return to the Corte and, eventually, to relocate to the Domus Nova.[166]

Federico and Mantegna appear to have had a strong relationship, with the marquis commissioning a number of works from his artist. Federico was familiar with Mantegna through the artist's work for the marquis's father and seemed to appreciate his talent. In October 1478, Federico wrote a kind letter, wishing the artist a speedy recovery from a fever, suggesting perhaps a closer relationship than simply a professional one of artist and patron.[167] As mentioned above, Mantegna painted a *St. Sebastian* that was sent to France as a gift from the Gonzaga when Federico's daughter married Gilbert de Montpensier.[168] He also executed frescoes for the marquis in the town of Gonzaga (now lost).[169] He designed vases for Federico's *studiolo* in the Palazzo Ducale in 1483, in a classical style,

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[164] L'Occaso, "Mantua," 172-173 and Adami, "Gonzagas' palace," 2. It was only in the early seventeenth century that the Domus Nova became widely used by the court, and at this time many of the rooms designed by Fancelli were restructured. One wing was refurbished and turned into the Ducal Apartments. Brown, *Isabella*, 13 and 152.
[165] Allison Cole, *Italian Renaissance Courts: Art, Pleasure and Power* (London: Lawrence King Publishing, 2016), 181.
[166] Amadei and Marani, *I Gonzaga*, 173 and 184.
[167] Kristeller, *Mantegna* (English), 267. Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 2895, libro 90. Reproduced in Kristeller (German), document 74.
[168] Bourne, "Art of Diplomacy," 161.
[169] Mary Hollingsworth, *Patronage in Renaissance Italy: From 1400 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (London: J. Murray, 1994), 219.

likely intended to be cast in silver by goldsmith Gian Marco Cavalli.[170] In 1484, Mantegna was busy painting a room in one of the marquis's castles at Marmirolo.[171] Mantegna was also involved in the Domus Nova project, overseeing work on stone and clay sculptures and collaborating on the design, producing detailed drawings.[172] Paul Kristeller observes that "Mantegna's artistic activity [under Federico] appears to be as many-sided and enterprising as it was under Lodovico."[173]

It should be noted that Mantegna did have an interest in architecture and may have had a greater level of involvement in the design of the Domus Nova than has been previously understood. Mantegna was very adamant, in negotiations with Lodovico about his initial move to Mantua to become the Gonzaga's court artist, that he was not willing to live like a servant in the Palazzo Ducale, and further, that he desired his own home.[174] It seems the artist was making plans for his house, possibly designing it himself, by the mid-1460s, with construction beginning (on land given to Mantegna by Lodovico) in 1476.[175]

The house was designed in the *all'antica* style, to resemble the homes of the nobility and to elevate Mantegna's status. It was quite large, with 15 rooms, and an

[170] Bourne, "Art of Diplomacy," 161 and Ames-Lewis, *Intellectual*, 126.
[171] Chambers, "Marchese Federico," 519-520 and Kristeller, *Mantegna* (English), 278. Some scholars view the fact that Mantegna was occupied with a different project for Federico in 1484 as evidence that he had not yet begun the *Triumphs* (see, for example, Hope, "Classical World," 16-17). However, there were certainly other instances during the artist's career when he worked on multiple projects simultaneously, and if the *Triumphs* and Domus Nova were both considered long-term undertakings by Federico, there seems to be no reason that Mantegna could not have taken on additional concurrent projects for the marquis.
[172] L'Occaso, "Mantua," 174 and Amadei and Marani, *I Gonzaga*, 176.
[173] Kristeller, *Mantegna* (English), 268.
[174] Ames-Lewis, *Intellectual*, 68.
[175] Burns, "Architecture," 32; Bourne, "Art of Diplomacy," 158; and Earl Rosenthal, "The House of Andrea Mantegna in Mantua," *Gazette des beaux-arts* Vol. 60, No. 6 (September 1962): 327.

original design of a circular courtyard within a cube (figures 2.23 and 2.24).[176] The house was located across the street from the church of San Sebastiano, designed by Alberti—alongside classical structures, Alberti's designs had the greatest influence on Mantegna's architectural style.[177] Construction was slow, with Mantegna not inhabiting his home until the mid-1490s.[178] The house eventually was purchased by Francesco Gonzaga in 1502, seemingly still unfinished, as the artist was having financial difficulty.[179] The structure was of enough significance that Vasari mentioned it in his biography of Mantegna, writing that the artist "built a very beautiful house in Mantua for his own use, which he adorned with paintings and enjoyed while he lived."[180] Mantegna also was likely involved in the design of the northeast tower of the Castello di San Giorgio, where he painted the Camera Picta, suggesting his appreciation of the relationship between a room's architecture and its decoration. Finally, Fancelli and Mantegna had seemingly collaborated before—on the portico for the refurbished Castello in the early 1470s—so it is not unlikely to think that the painter and architect would have

[176] Sarah Blake McHam, *Pliny and the Artistic Culture of the Italian Renaissance: The Legacy of the Natural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 161 and Bätzner, *Mantegna*, 56. The rotunda measured 11 meters in diameter and the cube was 25 meters square. Rosenthal, "House," 329.
[177] McHam, *Pliny*, 161 and Frommel, "Mantegna Architetto," 220. Alberti and Mantegna had met during the Diet of Mantua in 1459. Alberti and Fancelli likely provided Mantegna advice on the design of his home. Bätzner, *Mantegna*, 55 and 56.
[178] Bätzner, *Mantegna*, 56 and 74; Bourne, "Art of Diplomacy," 158; and Rosenthal, "House," 327.
[179] McHam, *Pliny*, 161; Bätzner, *Mantegna*, 74; and Rosenthal, "House," 327. In 1506, Mantegna was forced to sell Isabella d'Este his prized ancient sculpture of Faustina to pay off his debts. Ames-Lewis, *Intellectual*, 80.
[180] Vasari, *Lives*, 564 and Davies, "Quattrocento," 79. Over the centuries, Mantegna's house was altered a great deal as the property changed owners, and in the eighteenth century became part of a larger palace. A restoration was attempted from 1940 to 1942, to return the building to its original state of the late fifteenth/early sixteenth century. For a report of that restoration, see Rosenthal, "House." Today, the courtyard does appear much as it would have done in Mantegna's time; the remainder of the house has been converted into an art gallery.

worked together again on the Domus Nova (beyond Mantegna's contribution of plans for the window frames) to design a space within the new palace suitable for the *Triumphs*.[181]

Returning to the painting, the subject matter of the *Triumphs* would have been very appropriate for Federico, a military leader. True, all three of the Gonzaga men were soldiers, but Lodovico seems to have placed more of an emphasis on his humanistic and intellectual side. Elam notes that Lodovico, later in life, did not focus on his military career, whereas Federico spent much of his reign on the battlefield.[182] Federico ruled during a time of war—he would have wanted imagery that presented the Gonzaga family as strong and powerful. Francesco would have agreed to allow Mantegna to continue working on the project started under his father, as the new marquis would have also felt the subject matter appropriate for himself. Julius Caesar was considered one of the greatest military leaders of all time, and a family of soldiers certainly would have benefited from drawing connections between themselves and the general. Similarly, on the ceiling of the Camera Picta one finds images of various Roman emperors (including Julius Caesar) (figure 1.60), illustrating the Gonzaga's power as rulers and the family's important alliance with the Holy Roman Emperor.[183] I agree with Hope's theory, for all the reasons detailed earlier in this chapter, that Mantegna likely began with the last

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[181] Rodella and L'Occaso, "Castello," 26 and 28 and Sergio Bertelli, Franco Cardini, and Elvira Garbero Zorzi, *Italian Renaissance Courts* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1986), 85.
[182] Elam, "Mantegna," 22.
[183] Elam, "Mantegna," 18. Claudia Cieri Via has compared the Camera Picta to the atrium of an ancient Roman house, in which the busts of ancestors were displayed, suggesting that the Gonzaga are claiming descent from the Roman emperors pictured on the ceiling. Claudia Cieri Via, "Collezionismo e Decorazione alla Corte dei Gonzaga," in *The Court of the Gonzaga in the Age of Mantegna: 1450-1550*, ed. Cesare Mozzarelli, Robert Oresko, and Leandro Ventura (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1997), 393-394 and Beth Cohen, "Mantua, Mantegna and Rome: The *Grotte* of Isabella d'Este reconsidered," in *The Rediscovery of Antiquity: The Role of the Artist*, ed. Jane Fejfer, Tobias Fischer-Hansen, and Annette Rathje (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2003), 328.

paintings in the series, namely the canvas depicting Caesar, as this image could stand well on its own while the remainder of the lengthy project was being completed.

Some have suggested that it may have been Mantegna himself who proposed the idea and subject matter for the painting.[184] As is detailed in chapter one, Mantegna was known to be intelligent with an interest in humanism and a love of the ancient world.[185] Even if the artist himself did suggest the idea for the series, there would still need to be a patron who consented to the plan, understanding that the painting would take many years to complete.[186] As a lover of antiquity as well as a military commander, Federico could have been this consenting patron. Furthermore, Federico admired his court artist, writing in a letter "these outstanding masters have strange notions, and it is a good idea to take whatever you can get from them."[187] He may have been more than willing to give his talented artist some degree of free reign. His short life should not disqualify him as patron—Federico was just shy of his 37th birthday when his rule began, and was ambitious enough to undertake a building project as large as the Domus Nova. It seems completely reasonable that he would have equally expected to live long enough to see a vast painting project through to completion.

If Federico was the one who commissioned the *Triumphs*, the known timeline would fall more satisfactorily. The first written reference to the painting dates from August 1486. If Francesco had commissioned the series immediately upon becoming marquis in July 1484, Mantegna would have needed to work at a fast pace to have

[184] See Hope, "Chronology," 304 and Martindale, "Historicus," 15.
[185] Ames-Lewis, *Intellectual*, 15.
[186] Elam, "Mantegna," 21.
[187] Hope, "Classical World," 16-17.

completed by August 1486 (at least) two canvases—those that were seen by Ercole d'Este on his visit—accounting also for time spent at the start planning the complex series. Conversely, if the series had been begun under Lodovico, even if only shortly before his death in 1478, it would be strange that there were no written references until 1486, especially considering that Mantegna's time in Mantua is well documented.[188] If Mantegna began work on the painting under Federico, sometime between 1480—when work on the Domus Nova was started—and 1484, that would explain the lack of documentation from the 1470s and would allow for two canvases having been completed by August 1486. (The fact that no records seem to exist from the precise date of the commission is not unusual for, as a court artist working exclusively for the Gonzaga, there would be no need for any sort of contract.)[189]

In a letter from Mantegna to Lorenzo de' Medici dated August 26, 1484, the artist wrote that he had not received a new commission from Francesco, who had recently become marquis, but this was possibly as Francesco had decided to allow Mantegna to continue the work he had already begun on the *Triumphs*. Or perhaps Mantegna was in limbo as Francesco had not yet decided what to do with the series. The artist did write that "the disposition of this new lord renews my hopes, seeing him all inclined towards *virtù*."[190] It does seem that Francesco appreciated the series for the masterpiece it was, as

[188] Elam, "Mantegna," 15 and 22. The Gonzaga archives have been well-studied and it is unlikely that there is any documentation pertaining to the commission of the series still to be found there. Martindale, *Triumphs*, 13 and Hope, "Chronology," 297.
[189] Kemp, *Behind*, 59.
[190] Cole, *Virtue*, 157. Reproduced in Kristeller (German) 88.

evidenced by his decree from 1492, quoted above, in which he described the painting as "almost alive."[191]

Finally, if Federico were the patron, then the puzzling question of the original location of the painting could be satisfactorily answered. Neither of the previously proposed sites in the Castello or Corte, as detailed above, impress me as probable possibilities. The *sala* in the Castello was too small a space and would not have allowed all nine paintings to be displayed in one row, as was seemingly intended by Mantegna. Additionally, by the late sixteenth century, the Castello was primarily a residential space, and thus not an ideal location for a painting clearly intended to be shown off. (At the time, the Corte was functioning as the primary site for receiving and entertaining guests.) The *corridoio* in the Corte is equally not an acceptable location, as it was chiefly a hallway and not a room significant enough for a series as important as the *Triumphs*. Moreover, I agree with Martindale that it seems improbable for Mantegna to have begun such a substantial project with no intended location in mind. Mantegna was an artist very much aware of the space and architecture of a room (as evidenced by the Camera Picta frescoes, created to take advantage of their specific environment). If Federico was the patron the intended location all along may have been the Domus Nova—a new, modern palace being built by the marquis to revitalize the city and impress visitors, and one that would have been designed with a room precisely structured to house the *Triumphs of Caesar*.[192]

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[191] Christiansen, "Genius," 39. See page 69, note 19, above.

[192] It is impossible to know where precisely in the Domus Nova the painting may have been displayed: construction of the building as designed by Luca Fancelli was never completed and no plans for the structure from the fifteenth century survive. We know that the east wing, with a façade facing the lake, was

VIII. The Intended Function of the *Triumphs* Under Federico

In understanding the *Triumphs* and its iconography as a form of adornment for the Domus Nova, it is helpful to consider it in comparison to other secular palatial decorations of the late fourteenth, fifteenth, and early sixteenth centuries. Though painted frescoes were common in palaces at this time, they are difficult to study in bulk as the majority were destroyed or whitewashed by later occupants. However, basic trends can be discerned and allow us to understand both how the *Triumphs* might fit into this palace decoration "type," and how the series demonstrated a departure from the norm. In chapter one, it was argued that Mantegna's series represented a new manner of depicting triumphs, a category that had been made popular through illustrations of Petrarch's *I Trionfi*. Here it shall be argued that the *Triumphs* also marked a new genre of palatial decoration. In comparing the *Triumphs of Caesar* to other examples of palace decoration, we shall limit ourselves to secular palace frescoes from the princely states of northern Italy (as the form and functionality of frescoes in a religious context was necessarily different).

Palaces were very much a status symbol, on which Renaissance princes lavished considerable sums. Their decoration was a crucial aspect of impressing visitors and presenting a specific image of a ruler. Frescoes were a cheaper alternative to wall hangings for decorating large spaces, and were the predominant form of palace

intended to be Federico's living quarters. The Sala dei Trionfi may, therefore, have been planned for the west wing, which would have placed the series in relatively close proximity to the Sala del Pisanello and other significant spaces.

decoration for much of the fifteenth century.[193] Due to their great expense, tapestries were a symbol of high status; unsurprisingly, frescoes that imitated common tapestry subjects, such as hunting scenes and romantic pursuits, proved popular. For semi-public rooms, classical and historical subject matters and series of famous men or worthies were common.[194] Alberti, in *On the Art of Building*, wrote that the deeds of great leaders were appropriate subjects for grand rooms.[195] More minor spaces were frequently decorated with simple patterns and coats of arms, an inexpensive way to cover large areas. As we shall see, portraits of rulers, or the inclusion of their coats of arms and *imprese*, almost always featured in semi-public palatial spaces in northern Italy at this time.[196]

Anne Dunlop's excellent study of painted palaces in Italy in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries is a helpful starting point in identifying common themes in palace decoration. Her first chapter details the frescoes of the Palazzo Datini in Prato (figure 2.25), where work on the paintings began in July 1389. The imagery found there—all very conventional—includes scenes of hunting and greenery and a series of the Seven Virtues and Seven Sciences, along with generic patterns such as fictive marble and coats of arms. These ground-floor rooms were semi-public, and used to host (and impress) important guests.[197] In the Palazzo Paradiso in Ferrara we find a series of

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[193] Jacqueline Marie Musacchio, *Art, Marriage, & Family in the Florentine Renaissance Palace* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 91.
[194] Andrew Martindale, *Painting the Palace: Studies in the History of Medieval Secular Painting*, (London: The Pindar Press, 1995), 3 and Cole, *Courts*, 47-50.
[195] Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1988), 299.
[196] Cole, *Courts*, 51 and Charles M. Rosenberg, "Introduction," in *The Court Cities of Northern Italy: Milan, Parma, Piacenza, Mantua, Ferrara, Bologna, Urbino, Pesaro, and Rimini*, ed. Charles M. Rosenberg (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 9.
[197] Dunlop, *Painted*, 18, 22, 26, and 37.

scenes showing Hercules (figure 2.26), dating from around 1400—a common subject at that time. The scene is not exclusively classical, however, as contemporary observers look down from painted balconies.[198] This mixing of the classical or allegorical with more contemporary imagery or portraits was not unusual. For example, Azzone Visconti of Milan had a great hall painted with the figure of Glory surrounded by such luminaries as Aeneas and Hercules, in addition to himself.[199]

Another significant series of frescoes from the early Quattrocento are those at the Palazzo Trinci in Foligno.[200] In the loggia we find the story of Romulus and Remus, complete with battle scenes. The next room, the Sala Imperatorum, is filled with important Roman figures, starting with Romulus and including Julius Caesar, Augustus, Tiberius, Trajan, and so forth. At the end of the room, in a painted balcony, are two figures, almost certainly meant to be Ugolino Trinci and his wife Costanza Orsini (figure 2.27).[201]

Turning now to works from later in the fifteenth century, we can begin with two important wall paintings in Mantua itself, both discussed previously: the Pisanello frescoes and Mantegna's own Camera Picta. The Pisanello frescoes (figure 2.7) were only rediscovered in the 1960s.[202] The series was never finished, and in some instances only the underdrawings were completed. Pisanello was not attempting to create an

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[198] Dunlop, *Painted*, 44 and 51. Today this building is the Biblioteca Communale Ariostea; the old card catalog system is housed in the room with the frescoes. Though the walls are badly damaged, one can still make out clearly the figure of Hercules and women in contemporary dress in the fictive balconies.
[199] Dunlop, *Painted*, 166.
[200] Dunlop argues for a date *ante quem* for the paintings of November 1417. Dunlop, *Painted*, 188.
[201] Dunlop, *Painted*, 195-198 and 204.
[202] Bourne, "Art of Diplomacy," 151. As mentioned above, the dating of these paintings is uncertain, but they were likely executed in the late 1430s or 1440s. See Woods-Marsden, *Pisanello's*, 38-39

illusionistic, three-dimensional space; instead, the flat surface was inspired by Burgundian tapestries. The story features the chivalric tale of Lancelot du Lac, from the legend of King Arthur, while also including motifs that allude to the Gonzaga family.[203] The space was referred to in the fifteenth century as a *sala* and was directly accessible by an outdoor staircase; the room served as one of the most important semi-public spaces in the palace, a place for the Gonzaga to receive guests and host feasts, including Federico's marriage banquet in 1463.[204]

A few decades after Pisanello painted his room of jousting knights, Mantegna executed the Camera Picta (figures 1.2 and 1.3), a space with very different imagery. Much has been written on this room, known also as the Camera Dipinta and the Camera degli Sposi, painted by Mantegna for Lodovico between 1465 and 1474. There is debate over the iconography, whether it shows a specific moment in time or a more generic scene of court life. Not debated, however, is the presence on the walls of portraits of members of the Gonzaga family, including Lodovico, his wife Barbara, and their children, along with visiting dignitaries. As Martindale argues, though many aspects of the Camera Picta were original, by the time Mantegna painted it the imagery consisted of an accepted "type," that is, an image of what Martindale calls a "non-event" that allowed for the inclusion of portraits of the ruling family.[205] These types of portrait fresco cycles were likely fairly common, though few survive today. As was discussed above, the room functioned as a space to welcome important visitors and to promote the Gonzaga.

[203] Furlotti and Rebecchini, *Art of Mantua*, 36 and Canali, *Mantua Guide*, 13.
[204] Woods-Marsden, *Pisanello's*, 127-128.
[205] Martindale, *Painting*, 17 and 136.

Though its imagery is extremely different, I argue that the *Triumphs of Caesar* was intended to function in a similar fashion.

Around the time that Mantegna was painting the Camera Picta, similar projects—palace frescoes that featured the ruler or members of his family—were being executed elsewhere in Italy. Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza in 1469 elected to decorate rooms in the Visconti-Sforza castle in Pavia with scenes of the duke and duchess hunting and the reception of ambassadors.[206] The Sala d'Oro in the Castello at Torrechiara, painted between 1460 and 1462, features the mistress of patron Pier Maria Rossi and depictions of his territory.[207] Slightly earlier, in the 1420s, Valerano di Saluzzo commissioned frescoes in his palace in Manta with scenes based on a chivalric tale written by his father, Marquis Tommaso III of Saluzzo; the space also includes a series of Worthies, who take on the features of Valerano's family members (figure 2.28).[208]

The Este family of Ferrara provide a useful parallel to the Gonzaga: the two neighboring states were of a similar size, with large estates, and both families earned their

[206] Welch, *Art and Society*, 295. Sadly, the Pavia frescoes were destroyed in the sixteenth century.
[207] Giuseppe Bertini, "Center and Periphery: Art and Patronage in Renaissance Piacenza and Parma," in *The Court Cities of Northern Italy: Milan, Parma, Piacenza, Mantua, Ferrara, Bologna, Urbino, Pesaro, and Rimini*, ed. Charles M. Rosenberg (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 79.
[208] Welch, *Art and Society*, 294 and Dunlop, *Painted*, 150-151. As small, relatively private spaces, *studioli* fall into a different category than the rooms being discussed here; however, they often featured similar decoration. Humanist themes are found in the *studioli* of two rulers, Leonello d'Este and *condottiero* Federico da Montefeltro: Leonello's *studiolo* was decorated with a series of the Muses, Federico's *studiolo* at Gubbio featured the seven Liberal Arts, and his Urbino *studiolo* was painted with portraits of 28 famous men. Around the time Mantegna was completing the *Triumphs*, Isabella d'Este, wife of Francesco, was decorating her own *studiolo* in Mantua with classically themed paintings. Mantegna contributed two works, *Parnassus*, ca. 1496-1497, and *Minerva Expelling the Vices from the Garden of Virtue*, ca. 1500-1502, both now in the Musée du Louvre. Cole, *Courts*, 53 and 113 and Mary Hollingsworth, "Art Patronage in Renaissance Urbino, Pesaro, and Rimini, c. 1400-1550," in *The Court Cities of Northern Italy: Milan, Parma, Piacenza, Mantua, Ferrara, Bologna, Urbino, Pesaro, and Rimini*, ed. Charles M. Rosenberg (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 340.

money from agriculture and soldiering (as opposed to business).[209] Both were patrons of the arts, often employing the same architects, and used their patronage to help cement their status.[210] The families were also connected by marriage, when Francesco Gonzaga wed Isabella d'Este in 1490.

The greatest commission by Borso d'Este, who became ruler of Ferrara in 1450 after the death of his brother Leonello, was the Hall of the Months, or Salone dei Mesi (figures 1.54 and 1.55), a complex series of imagery in the Palazzo Schifanoia, a suburban hunting retreat. The Palazzo Schifanoia was first constructed by Alberto V d'Este in the last decades of the fourteenth century, and used primarily as a summer residence. The building was expanded under Borso in the 1460s, adding a second story, to make the palace suitable for year-round use. The large Salone dei Mesi, measuring 24 by 12 meters, would have functioned as a reception hall and site for court business, as well as for more informal courtly gatherings.[211] Around the walls are frescoes representing the twelve months, painted by Francesco del Cossa and others. Each section was divided into thirds horizontally: the top featured a classical god or goddess in a triumphal procession, the narrow middle showed the appropriate zodiac sign with additional figures, and the bottom illustrated a scene of courtly life featuring Borso himself. We see him riding, hunting, receiving guests, and acting as a just leader. In the

[209] Cole, *Courts*, 26.
[210] Bartolino da Novara, who built the Castello di San Giorgio in Mantua, also designed the Este castle in Ferrara. Canali, *Mantua Guide*, 34.
[211] Cole, *Courts*, 149-150 and Anthony Colantuono, "Estense Patronage and the Construction of the Ferrarese Renaissance, c. 1395-1598," in *The Court Cities of Northern Italy: Milan, Parma, Piacenza, Mantua, Ferrara, Bologna, Urbino, Pesaro, and Rimini*, ed. Charles M. Rosenberg (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 214.

upper portions, the triumphal imagery draws upon the iconography established for illustrating Petrarch's *I Trionfi* (as discussed in chapter one), with the gods and goddesses riding in carts drawn by a variety of animals, and surrounded by figures in contemporary dress. Read together, the scenes create an idealized version of the Este court, and visualize Borso's success as a ruler.[212]

Though the manner and types of palace decoration evolved over the decades, scenes of triumphant leaders, military feats, and classical subjects remained popular with the Gonzaga throughout the sixteenth century. The Corte Nuova, part of the Palazzo Ducale, which was built starting in the 1530s under Federico II, features a number of examples of such imagery. The Camera delle Teste (figure 2.29) contained 12 busts (now lost) of famous contemporaries, including Emperor Maximilian, Dukes Ercole and Alfonso d'Este of Ferrara, King Alfonso of Naples, Duke Charles of Burgundy, Duke Francesco Sforza of Milan, and, naturally, Lodovico Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua. Nearby is the Camerino dei Cesari (figure 2.30), designed to house Titian's portraits of the Caesars, sadly destroyed in a fire in Madrid in 1734. Painted for Federico II between 1536 and 1539, the series was intended to exalt the ancient Roman emperors with whom the Gonzaga liked to draw a connection.[213] A third room in the Corte Nuova, the Sala dei Marchesi (figure 2.31), contained a cycle (now in Munich) painted by Jacopo Tintoretto between 1578 and 1579, depicting the military and political achievements of earlier Gonzaga leaders. The scenes are: *The Investiture of Gianfrancesco as Marquis*, *The*

[212] Margaret Ann Zaho, *Imago Triumphalis: The Function and Significance of Triumphal Imagery for Italian Renaissance Rulers* (New York: Peter Lang, 2004), 104 and 118.
[213] Cieri Via, "Collezionismo," 395-396. See Sheila Hale, *Titian: His Life* (New York: Harper Collins, 2012), 359-365 for a history of the *Roman Emperors* series.

Battle of Lodovico II above the Adige River, *Federico I Sets Legnano Free from the Siege of the Swiss Army*, and *Francesco II at the Battle Above the Taro River*.[214] (Similar in theme, Domenico Morone, in 1494, painted the *Expulsion of the Bonacolsi* for Francesco II.) Finally, the famous Sala di Troia (figure 2.32), decorated by Giulio Romano between 1536 and 1539, depicts the classical story of the Trojan War. The space functioned as an audience hall; the overwhelming scenes would certainly have left an impression on visitors.[215]

Returning to the fifteenth century, the examples discussed here demonstrate how the *Triumphs of Caesar* would have, in one manner, been a traditional choice of subject matter for palace decorations—falling into the broad categories of classical subjects and series of virtuous and worthy men—but also been set apart, by the nature of its incredible attention to detail and accuracy, more of a historical than mythological or allegorical scene.

What makes the *Triumphs* most unique is the lack of representation of any members of the Gonzaga family in the imagery. In the fresco cycles just discussed, we see contemporary figures anachronistically watching Hercules perform his labors or inserted into series of famous men from the classical past. In the *Triumphs*, not only are none of the Gonzaga leaders pictured, there is not even the inclusion of a coat of arms or any specific allusion whatsoever to the family. Most painted palatial decorations of the time included, in addition to portraits, coats of arms or *imprese* to connect the work, and

[214] Cornelia Syre, "Guglielmo Gonzaga e Tintoretto. I fasti gonzagheschi," in *Gonzaga: L'esercizio del collezionismo*, ed. Raffaella Morselli (Milan: Skira, 2002), 130-131.
[215] Canali, *Mantua Guide*, 30.

whatever message it was attempting to convey, to the patron and his family.[216] The lack of portraits or other symbols in the *Triumphs* could be a reflection of Mantegna's personal antiquarian interests, detailed in chapter one, and a desire on his part to present a historically accurate scene without the intrusion of contemporary figures. This theory, however, has its flaws: the *Triumphs*, in fact, contains a number of historical inconsistencies, areas where Mantegna took artistic license and deviated from literary descriptions of classical triumphal processions. A second possibility to consider is that Mantegna, and perhaps also Federico as his patron, desired to deliberately break with past traditions. Despite his interest in antiquity, the *Triumphs* mark a departure for Mantegna in terms of subject, as it is his first strictly classical composition, painted in a more *all' antica* style. This may have been encouraged by Federico, who, with the construction of the Domus Nova, was attempting to reshape Mantua into a more modern city. Viewers would have been very familiar with the types of Petrarchan triumphal imagery discussed in chapter one; the *Triumphs of Caesar* would have been striking in its originality, making quite an impact on Federico's guests.

As a form of palace decoration, the *Triumphs* would have functioned similarly to the frescoes discussed above. Displayed in a grand Sala dei Trionfi in the Domus Nova, the painting would have impressed guests in the same manner as the earlier Sala del Pisanello and Camera Picta in Mantua, or frescoed spaces in the great palaces at Ferrara, Urbino, Milan, and so forth. The painting would have emphasized the family's position as military leaders, while also reflecting their humanist and learned tendencies. The

[216] Rosenberg, "Introduction," 9.

room in the Domus Nova where the *Triumphs* would have been housed may have functioned as a banqueting hall or place to receive dignitaries. Regardless, the painting would certainly have had a strong impact on all who saw it. Its novelty—a large-scale representation of a classical scene, without the inclusion of contemporary portraits—would also have impressed visitors, creating a favorable effect and reflecting positively on Federico and, ultimately, his successors.

One other obvious distinction between the *Triumphs of Caesar* and other forms of palatial decoration worth noting is its material. The *Triumphs* was painted on canvas, whereas most of the other cycles discussed were some form of fresco. If the *Triumphs* was intended to be displayed in the Domus Nova, then the choice of canvas was a practical one: construction of the palace and Mantegna's work on the series occurred simultaneously; when Mantegna began the series there was as yet no space to display it. Therefore, out of necessity, the paintings were done on canvas so they could easily be moved to their new home in the Domus Nova when the space was completed—which, as was discussed above, never occurred, due to Federico's untimely death. Mantegna himself once wrote of the benefit of canvas, that "it can be wrapped around a rod" for transport.[217]

It was not unprecedented for a decorative, historical cycle to be painted on canvas at this time: in 1491, a series of paintings was executed on canvas and displayed around the walls of the Sala della Balla in the Sforza castle in Milan for a double wedding.

[217] Quoted and translated in Jill Dunkerton and Babette Hartwieg, "Mantegna and Bellini: Contrasting Approaches to Technique," in *Mantegna & Bellini*, ed. Caroline Campbell, et al. (London: National Gallery Company, 2018), 64. Letter from Mantegna to Lodovico Gonzaga, July 6, 1477. Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Lettere del Mantegna. Reproduced in Kristeller (German), document 69.

However, these canvases probably were intended as ephemeral decorations, unlike, I argue, the *Triumphs of Caesar*.[218] In Venice, large narrative cycles were more frequently being executed on canvas, primarily as the city's climate was not well-suited to fresco.[219] Other significant paintings in the Gonzaga collection were also done on canvas, including the *Expulsion of the Bonacolsi* painted by Domenico Morone in 1494 (figure 2.33) and the *Battle of Fornovo* (now lost) by Francesco Bonsignori in 1495—both commissioned by Francesco II. Canvas allowed for greater portability; in fact, these two works were eventually moved to the Palazzo San Sebastiano to be displayed with other scenes of Gonzaga victory.[220]

The decision to use canvas may have been as much a matter of personal preference on the part of Mantegna, as it was of practicality. In the last quarter of the fifteenth century, canvas was not the predominant medium used for palace decorations. The material had been used throughout the early Renaissance for processional banners and the like, which needed to be lightweight, but during the Quattrocento, panel remained the preferred medium for altarpieces and devotional works, and fresco was the predominant format for wall painting.[221] Mantegna, however, utilized canvas frequently and throughout his career, as was discussed in chapter one. In fact, one of Mantegna's

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[218] This topic shall be discussed in depth in the next chapter.
[219] Dunkerton and Hartwieg, "Mantegna and Bellini," 51.
[220] Julian Kliemann, *Gesta Dipinte: La grande decorazione nelle dimore italiane dal Quattrocento al Seicento* (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 1993), 13 and 102.
[221] Andrea Rothe and Dawson W. Carr, "The Technique of Dosso Dossi, Poetry with Paint," in *Dosso Dossi: Court Painter in Renaissance Ferrara*, ed. Andrea Bayer (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 57; Frederick Hartt, "Introduction," in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: The Renaissance in Italy and Spain*, ed. John P. O'Neill (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987), 7; and Welch, *Art and Society*, 66.

earliest surviving paintings, *St. Mark the Evangelist* (figure 2.34), is executed in egg tempera on canvas. As conservator Jill Dunkerton notes, Mantegna is the earliest Italian painter for whom more works on canvas survive than on panel.[222] During the time that Mantegna was in the employ of the Gonzaga, he executed a number of works in distemper or tempera on canvas or linen, including *Madonna and Child*, circa 1475, Accademia Carrara, Bergamo (figure 2.35); *Dead Christ*, mid-1470s, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan (figure 1.6); *Madonna della Vittoria*, 1495-1496, Musée du Louvre, Paris (figure 2.12); *The Holy Family with St. Mary Magdalene*, circa 1495-1500, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (figure 2.36); and *Ecce Homo*, circa 1500, Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris (figure 1.5). Once finished, paintings on canvas could then be mounted on a sturdier surface, such as panel.[223]

By the late fifteenth century, though canvas was beginning to be used all over Italy, it was more common in northern Italy. Mantegna may have preferred the smoother surface canvas provided, in addition to the benefits of portability.[224] It was perhaps the artist's brother-in-law, Giovanni Bellini, who suggested utilizing canvas for palace decorations: when Bellini was commissioned to restore the state rooms of the Palazzo Ducale in Venice in 1474, he executed his paintings on canvas.[225] Finally, though

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[222] Jill Dunkerton, "Mantegna's painting techniques," in *Mantegna and 15th-Century Court Culture*, ed. Francis Ames-Lewis and Anka Bednarek (London: University of London, 1993), 26.
[223] Keith Christiansen, "Some Observations on Mantegna's Painting Technique," in *Andrea Mantegna*, ed. Jane Martineau (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), 68-69. A document from 1491 states that Mantegna at times used canvas as the material was more durable and resulted in a more beautiful final product. See Kristeller, *Mantegna* (German), 550. Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 2440, contents unnumbered. Kristeller (German), document 111, Martindale, document 4, and Bourne, document 38.
[224] Dunkerton, "Mantegna's techniques," 31 and 38.
[225] Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 142 and Tietze-Conrat, *Mantegna*, 22.

Mantegna was skilled in the technique of fresco, the winter climate in Mantua is quite damp, causing frescoes to suffer: by 1506 the Camera Picta was already in need of repairs.[226] It seems clear, then, that the use of canvas alone is not sufficient evidence that the *Triumphs* was from the start meant to function as ephemeral decorations; instead, Mantegna employed canvas as a matter of personal preference and practicality, and for the added ease of moving the paintings from his workshop to their eventual intended home in the Domus Nova.

Another topic to consider is how the canvases would have been displayed within their proposed space in the Domus Nova. Most of the fresco cycles just discussed went around the walls of their respective rooms. As has been suggested by some scholars regarding the intended location of the *Triumphs*, the series was perhaps meant to be displayed in such a manner. However, I feel it more likely that the paintings were designed to be displayed in a row, in one long, grand space. This arrangement creates the strongest impression of the processional triumph, producing a real sense of movement.[227] Additionally, when the canvases were finally installed in the Palazzo San Sebastiano, they were done so all in one long row. Though this happened after Mantegna's death,

[226] Christiansen, "Observations," 68.

[227] In the Palazzo San Sebastiano today, now a museum, displayed in a room near the former Sala dei Trionfi, are seventeenth-century fresco copies of Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar* (briefly discussed in chapter one). The nine paintings, smaller in scale than the originals, are displayed around all four walls of the roughly square room, with interruptions for windows and doors. Similarly, in the recent installation of the *Triumphs* as part of the exhibition "Charles I: King and Collector" at the Royal Academy of Arts in London (January 27 to April 15, 2018), the canvases were hung around three walls of a room, with breaks for large doorways. Both displays allowed a unique opportunity to experience the effect presented by Mantegna's paintings had they been originally displayed in this manner, that is, encircling a room: as a whole, the sense of movement and overall processional atmosphere present in the display at Hampton Court Palace—where the canvases are in one, long row—was lacking in the gallery at San Sebastiano and in the Royal Academy exhibition.

work on the space began while he was still alive and it seems likely that Mantegna and Francesco would have discussed how to display the painting to its best advantage.

It is important to note that, during the Renaissance, it was not overly common for artists to create a room's decoration before the space itself had been completely constructed, as I propose may have been the case with Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar* and the Domus Nova. It was, however, not unprecedented: we can look to three similar scenarios, all from the early sixteenth century, in which work commenced on the decoration of a space before the creation of said space was complete.

The first case is that of Alfonso I d'Este's *camerino* in Ferrara. Shortly after becoming Duke of Ferrara in 1505, Alfonso began work on the creation of a series of rooms in the Via Coperta, an elevated passage linking the Castello Estense and a nearby palace. The space had been initially constructed in the 1470s and then rebuilt and enlarged under Alfonso.[228] Construction began on the Studio di Marmo, one room in the suite, in January 1507, with some of Antonio Lombardo's reliefs installed there by 1508 and decoration of the room seemingly complete by the end of 1511.[229] Perhaps the most famous room in the suite was Alfonso's *camerino*—sometimes referred to as the Camerino d'Alabastro—which was ultimately decorated with a series of paintings by

[228] Charles Hope, "The 'Camerini d'Alabastro' of Alfonso d'Este – I," *The Burlington Magazine* Vol. 113, No. 824 (November 1971): 641 and 646; Charles Hope, "The Camerino d'Alabastro: A Reconsideration of the Evidence," in *Bacchanals by Titan and Rubens*, ed. Görel Cavalli-Björkman (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1987), 29; and Harold E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian, Volume III: The Mythological and Historical Paintings* (London: Phaidon Press, 1975), 29-30. For a thorough history of the space, see also Alessandro Ballarin, *Il camerino delle pitture di Alfonso I* (Cittadella Padova: Bertoncello, 2002).
[229] Allyson Burgess Williams, "*Le donne, i cavalier, l'arme, gli amori*": Artistic Patronage at the Court of Alfonso I d'Este, Duke of Ferrara" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2005), 167.

Titian and others.[230] It is unclear precisely when work on the Camerino commenced; in February 1518, rebuilding and enlarging began on the Via Coperta, and was completed in 1519.[231] It is also uncertain where precisely the Camerino was located: though Charles Hopes situates it within the Via Coperta, others, including Dana Goodgal, believe the room was in the Ravelin, the section of building directly over the moat.[232]

In decorating his Camerino, Alfonso initially hoped to adorn the room with examples from the three schools of Italian painting—Venetian, Roman, and Florentine—represented by Giovanni Bellini, Raphael, and Fra Bartolommeo, respectively.[233] Alfonso may have begun devising the decorative scheme for his new *camerino* as early as 1511, upon the completion of the Studio di Marmo.[234] This hypothesis is supported by a letter written by Mario Equicola, while in Ferrara, to Isabella d'Este, from October 9, 1511, stating that he will be extending his stay as Alfonso (Isabella's brother) desired his assistance in developing the subjects for a series of paintings.[235] Alfonso may have had the Camerino in mind when he visited Rome in 1512, and persuaded Michelangelo to promise to make him a painting.[236] Bellini painted his *Feast of the Gods*, which was

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[230] The space at times is also called a *studiolo*. Alfonso referred to the room as "il nostro camerino." Wethey, *Titian*, 29-30 and Andrea Bayer, "Dosso's Public: The Este Court at Ferrara," in *Dosso Dossi: Court Painter in Renaissance Ferrara*, ed. Andrea Bayer (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 31.
[231] Hope, "Camerini I," 641 and Hope, "Reconsideration," 29. See also Cecil Gould, *The Studio of Alfonso d'Este and Titian's Bacchus and Ariadne* (London: National Gallery, 1969), 3.
[232] Hope, "Camerini I," 641-642 and Dana Goodgal, "The Camerino of Alfonso I d'Este," *Art History* Vol. 1, No. 2 (June 1978): 167 and 172.
[233] Hale, *Titian*, 174-176.
[234] Keith Christiansen, "Dosso Dossi's Aeneas frieze for Alfonso d'Este's *Camerino*," *Apollo* Vol. 151, No. 455 (January 2000): 38 and 43 and Williams, "Artistic Patronage," 199-202.
[235] Rona Goffen, *Renaissance Rivals: Michelangelo, Leonardo, Raphael, Titian* (New York: Yale University Press), 271; Campbell, *Cabinet*, 253; and Williams, "Artistic Patronage," 201-202.
[236] Bayer, "Dosso's Public," 34.

ultimately displayed in the space, in 1514 and Raphael agreed to paint a *Triumph of Bacchus* the same year.[237] The decorative scheme for the *camerino* was seemingly in place by the mid-1510s, with Alfonso having commissioned a *Worship of Venus* from Fra Bartolommeo in 1516.[238]

However, after the death of Fra Bartolommeo in 1517 and Raphael in 1520, it was Titian who completed the series, with the *Worship of Venus, Bacchus and Ariadne,* and *The Andrians*.[239] Dosso Dossi also did one large painting, along with ten small panels of scenes from the *Aeneid* to function as a frieze below the ceiling.[240] Though Isabella d'Este stayed in the new space in May 1520, decoration continued for a number of years, seemingly complete by the mid-1520s (figure 2.37).[241] The dating of the individual paintings and the order in which they were completed (along with their manner of display) is a matter of debate. The *Worship of Venus* was apparently the first painting completed by Titian for the space, having taken over the subject initially assigned to Fra Bartolommeo.[242] The order of Titian's other two paintings is unclear: though some scholars believe Titian next executed *The Andrians* and then *Bacchus and Ariadne*, others argue for the reverse.[243] Dosso Dossi's contribution is even less clear, as the subject of

[237] Charles Hope, "The 'Camerini d'Alabastro' of Alfonso d'Este – II," *The Burlington Magazine* Vol. 113, No. 825 (December 1971): 712 and Campbell, *Cabinet*, 203.
[238] Goffen, *Renaissance Rivals*, 275 and 277 and Hope, "Camerini II," 712.
[239] Hale, *Titian*, 174-176.
[240] Christiansen, "Dosso," 38 and 43 and Hope, "Camerini I," 643.
[241] Hope, "Camerini I," 649. Though the original exact location, dimensions, and layout of Alfonso's gallery are unknown, the museum today at the Castello Estense in Ferrara has reconstructed the space, called the Camerino delle Pitture, with reproductions of the original paintings.
[242] Goffen, *Renaissance Rivals*, 278 and Campbell, *Cabinet*, 253 and 256.
[243] See John Walker, *Bellini and Titian at Ferrara* (London: Phaidon Press, 1956), 433 in support of the former and Hope, "Camerini II," 716-717 for the latter.

his large painting, described by Vasari as a "bacchanal," has not been firmly identified, and is possibly lost.[244]

In creating his *camerino,* Alfonso likely looked to his sister, Isabella, who had created her own *studiolo* (which included Mantegna's *Parnassus* and *Minerva Expelling the Vices from the Garden of Virtue*) in Mantua in the 1490s, even seeking out the advice of her advisor, Equicola, in 1511.[245] It is possible that the commission of Bellini's *Feast of the Gods* was made around that time.[246] The key point is that Alfonso began commissioning works of art for his *camerino*—from Bellini, Fra Bartolommeo, and Raphael—before the rebuilding of the Via Coperta began in 1518.[247]

Turning briefly to the purpose and function of Alfonso's space, whereas the decorations of Isabella's *studiolo* were somewhat more intellectual and elevated, Alfonso's paintings are often characterized as having revolved around more base bacchanal themes of love and wine.[248] One scholar described the room as "offering the visual equivalent to a restorative visit to one of the famous Este villas."[249] However, as a place where Alfonso entertained his closest acquaintances, the paintings in Alfonso's *camerino* also served as a way for the Duke to fashion himself as a discerning collector and connoisseur, with a knowledge of antiquity.[250] Federico Gonzaga's proposed Sala

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[244] Bayer, "Dosso's Public," 36.
[245] For more on Isabella's *studiolo,* see Campbell, *Cabinet,* chapters four and five in particular for a discussion of Mantegna's contribution.
[246] Campbell, *Cabinet,* 253.
[247] As mentioned above, some scholars, though, do not believe the bacchanal paintings were intended for the enlarged Via Coperta, see particularly Goodgal, "Camerino," 167.
[248] Campbell, *Cabinet*, 208 and 252 and Hope, "Camerini II," 715.
[249] Christiansen, "Dosso," 38.
[250] Bayer, "Dosso's Public," 31.

dei Trionfi, created half a century earlier, could have functioned in a similar manner: on the one hand, reinforcing Federico's strength as a military ruler, while on the other, positioning himself as a cultured humanist.

Two additional examples of site-specific decorations being commissioned before their eventual home was complete can be found in Mantua itself. The first is Francesco II Gonzaga's Camera del Mapamondi et del Caiero. Francesco was a great collector of maps, and had rooms in the Palazzo Ducale and at his palace at Marmirolo frescoed with city views. At his Palazzo San Sebastiano, the map decorations were done on canvas. The palace was built and decorated between 1506 and 1512, and the presence of the Camera del Mapamondi et del Caiero is documented in a 1540 inventory. The maps at San Sebastiano (which do not survive) seem to have been a disparate collection of large maps, unlike Francesco's earlier map frescoes, which each made up a coherent series. Francesco purchased a world map in 1505, before construction on the palace had started. In fall 1506, while work was underway at San Sebastiano, the marquis dispatched the Gonzaga cosmographer, Girolamo Carradi, along with a court painter and scribe, to Venice to copy the map of Italy on display in the Ducal Palace there. Likely also on canvas, this map may have been reproduced in Mantua as early as the following spring. Correspondence from April 1507 records that Carradi was working on a map on canvas and that, that same year, a map of Cairo was also created. All of these maps were likely

intended for the Camera del Mapamondi et del Caiero, and at least some were acquired or commissioned before the space itself was completed.[251]

Perhaps more akin to the proposed Sala dei Trionfi collaboration between Mantegna and Fancelli would be the Camerino dei Cesari, also in Mantua. Federico II Gonzaga (ruled 1519-1540) had Titian and Giulio Romano create a Camerino dei Cesari in the Corte Nuova in the late 1530s (figure 2.30). The space was designed by Romano, who also contributed additional decorations for the room, with 11 paintings of Roman emperors provided by Titian.[252] Titian sent his first portrait, of Augustus, to Mantua in March 1537; however, a letter from Duke Federico II after the arrival of the painting stated that the room itself would not be completed until May—suggesting that Titian had begun work on the series while construction of the space was still ongoing. It was not until June of that year that Titian was able to travel to Mantua and see the in-progress Camerino for himself.[253] If Federico I had commissioned Fancelli and Mantegna to jointly create and decorate a space in the Domus Nova for the *Triumphs of Caesar*, it would be a similar, early example of such a purpose-built gallery space, formed as a collaboration between designer and painter.

This possible scenario, with Federico as patron and the Domus Nova as the painting's intended home, reveals much about the original envisioned function of the

[251] Molly Bourne, "Francesco II Gonzaga and Maps as Palace Decoration in Renaissance Mantua," *Imago Mundi* Vol. 51 (1999): 63-66.
[252] Charles Hope, "*Roman Emperors*," in *Splendours of the Gonzaga*, ed. David Chambers and Jane Martineau (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1981), 190. For more on this series, see also Diane H. Bodart, *Tiziano e Federico II Gonzaga: Storia di un rapporto di committenza* (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1998).
[253] Hale, *Titian*, 360.

series. If Lodovico or Francesco were the patron, as there was seemingly no space large enough to comfortably accommodate and display all nine canvases, the possibility exists that the series was commissioned with the intent of the paintings functioning as mobile objects, in ephemeral settings such as theaters and processions.[254] This scenario shall be discussed at length in the following chapter, but is problematic for a number of reasons. One of only two drawings that may be an autograph preparatory work by Mantegna for the series, now at the Musée du Louvre, includes flanking pilasters (figure 1.15), suggesting that from an early stage Mantegna envisioned the series to be displayed affixed to a wall with pilasters in between.[255] Though court artists were commonly tasked with producing ephemeral decorations, few survive, and it is hard to know if decorations of the scale and complexity of the *Triumphs* would have been common. Additionally, ephemeral decorations were typically quickly produced and subsequently neglected, whereas the *Triumphs* took many years to complete and was well cared for. Martindale notes that the manner in which the painting is discussed in the decree of 1492, alongside Mantegna's paintings for the chapel and Camera Picta, implies that the *Triumphs* was also considered a form of room decoration.[256]

If we accept that the *Triumphs of Caesar* was commissioned by Federico with the desire of displaying it in a specially designed grand hall in his new Domus Nova, this

[254] Kenneth Clark, in a lecture from 1958, is one of the few scholars to suggest that this may have been the original intended function of the series. Kenneth Clark, "Andrea Mantegna," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* Vol. 106, No. 5025 (August 1958): 678.
[255] As was discussed in chapter one, the authorship of this drawing is debated. Martindale believes it to be an autograph preparatory study by Mantegna (Martindale, *Triumphs*, 163). However, the 2008 Louvre catalog lists the drawing as "Atelier d'Andrea Mantegna" (Giovanni Agosti and Dominque Thiébaut, *Mantegna: 1431-1506* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2008), 382).
[256] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 33.

indicates how it was intended to function, as a significant palatial decoration, similar to the fresco cycles discussed above. From the start, the *Triumphs* was designed to awe guests and impress upon them the wealth, glory, and culture of the Gonzaga. This knowledge provides additional insight into the intentions of Federico, who is less well understood than Lodovico and Francesco. We know that, with the Domus Nova, Federico was attempting to shape Mantua into a more modern city, abandoning the medieval Castello that his father had been converting into a living space. With the *Triumphs*, Federico would have a modern series of paintings to match his new palace, one that drew on older traditions but was, in many ways, quite original. It would convey the Gonzagas' might as military leaders, while also expressing their more learned and humanist side.

IX. Conclusion

I propose a scenario that fits with all the documentary evidence. I believe the series was commissioned by Federico Gonzaga, sometime in the early 1480s, before his untimely death on July 14, 1484. Federico had been living in the Corte, an old building in a bad state of repair, and shortly after becoming marquis began construction on his new, modern Domus Nova, a project with which Mantegna was involved. Work on the new palace began in 1480, with the east wing (where Federico would live) mostly complete by 1481. Sometime around then, I posit, Federico commissioned the *Triumphs* from Mantegna. Like his father, Federico appreciated the diplomatic power of art, and would have desired impressive decorations for his new palace. As Mantegna was

involved in the Domus Nova project, he would have collaborated with the architect, Luca Fancelli, to ensure the building's design contained a space large enough for his ambitious undertaking. The series was done on canvas, as Mantegna would have been painting the series simultaneous to the construction of its home in the Domus Nova: canvas would allow for the easy transport of the *Triumphs* from Mantegna's studio to its intended site in the new building. A classical, military subject matter was selected, perhaps even proposed by the artist, as Federico's military endeavors were an important part of his identity, yet at the same time he also desired to show his more humanist side, fashioning himself in the same mold as other rulers who were also learned patrons of the arts. With its more modern style, breaking from traditional palace decoration types, the *Triumphs* would have strongly impressed visitors to Federico's Domus Nova.

Federico died unexpectedly in 1484, before the Domus Nova was completed and seemingly before the room intended to house the *Triumphs* was built. Francesco, though he did not complete his father's building project, did allow Mantegna to continue work on the *Triumphs*, eventually taking on the series as his own. Francesco certainly would have appreciated the subject matter and the opportunity to associate himself with the great Roman general. (It is possible that after Francesco's military victory against the French, the iconography in the painting was specified to make clear that the series illustrated Caesar's Gallic triumph.)[257] However, since work on the intended home of the series, the Domus Nova, was stopped, there was no space large enough to display the

[257] The iconography indicating that the series depicts Caesar's Gallic triumph is found in canvas II. If, as Hope suggests, Mantegna began painting at the end of the series, that is, with canvases VII, VIII, and IX, it is quite possible that he would still be working on (or not yet have begun) canvas II at the time of the Battle of Fornovo in 1495.

painting. In my theory, for approximately two decades, the canvases were temporarily housed in various rooms in the Castello or Corte, and used periodically in theatrical productions and as backdrops for other events. Finally, Francesco built his own new palace, the Palazzo San Sebastiano, in the early sixteenth century, with a room specifically designed for the *Triumphs of Caesar*.

For over a century, Federico's *Triumphs of Caesar* was displayed in different buildings across Mantua, bringing glory to the Gonzaga family and illustrating their military achievements, humanist tendencies, and courtly lifestyle. A unique aspect of the painting's history, its use in theatrical contexts, will be the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter Three
The Court Culture of Mantua: Art and Theater

This chapter delves into the vibrant world of the Mantuan court in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, particularly the place of theater and processions. Under the rule of Lodovico, Federico, and Francesco, the Gonzaga family hosted dignitaries in their lavish palaces, entertained fellow nobles, and staged events for the larger public. There are records of the *Triumphs of Caesar* (paintings executed on canvas) having been used in a theatrical context in 1497, 1501, and 1507. This chapter explores what role theater and processions played in Mantua, how productions and pageants were staged, and the types of backdrops and decorations utilized. A major point of consideration is how the *Triumphs* functioned as a mobile object and participated in theater culture. It will be argued that it was never the original intention of Mantegna or his patron for the *Triumphs* to function in this manner, and that it was only due to unexpected events—the untimely death of Federico and subsequent halting of work on the Domus Nova—that the canvases were incorporated into theater. For approximately two decades, I posit, Francesco took advantage of the lightweight canvas and mobility of the *Triumphs of Caesar* to utilize it in a variety of contexts, an aspect of the painting's history that has yet to be fully addressed in scholarship. This chapter seeks to explore not simply the question of if the paintings were used in theatrical performances, but more significantly to what extent they did participate in a greater theater culture in Mantua.

I. Ephemeral Events: Processions and Weddings

Before more closely examining theatrical productions in Italy, and the specific uses to which the *Triumphs of Caesar* was put, it is helpful to gain a clearer picture of ephemeral events more generally—meaning the parades, processions, balls, receptions, and *trionfi* that were staged by courts throughout Italy during the Renaissance. In particular, I am interested in how these events were decorated, what forms of artworks might have served as backdrops, and how paintings such as the *Triumphs of Caesar* may have been incorporated. Triumphal imagery was a frequent motif in decorative schemes of the late Quattrocento, a tradition in which Mantegna actively participated. Pre-existing works of art—tapestries, statues, paintings—were commonly repurposed and used as decorations for ephemeral events, such as theatrical productions and processions. Equally, court artists were involved with the creation of new decorations for these events. Both its ancient subject matter and physical properties (lightweight canvas, easily broken into groups) made the *Triumphs of Caesar* ideally suited for the revival of classical plays that occurred in late fifteenth-century Italy, and for the preponderance of triumphal processions and entries.

The *signori* who ruled many cities in northern Italy during the Quattrocento, such as the Gonzaga of Mantua, used public displays of pomp and splendor to help cement their power and demonstrate their control. Spectacles, rituals, weddings, entries, and other festivities were events at which rulers could publicly and symbolically convey their

power and honor, to both their court and the populace.[1] Some festivals were regular events, associated with feast days and holidays. Carnival season in particular was a time of many popular spectacles. Others were more spontaneous, coinciding with a wedding, birth of an heir, military victory, or triumphal entry. As described by Charles Rosenberg, these events fall into two categories: perennial celebrations and specific festivities.[2] This chapter will focus on both types—the theatrical productions frequently associated with Carnival season, along with unique festivities celebrating significant events, including triumphal entries and parades.

Classical triumphal entries as reimagined during the Renaissance were discussed in chapter one. Ancient triumphs were reinterpreted as vehicles to glorify and promote Renaissance rulers. This revival began in 1237 with the arrival of Emperor Frederick II in Rome, though one of the first major triumphal entries consciously based on Roman models was that of Alfonso of Aragon into Naples in 1443.[3] His entry included men on horseback, floats with allegorical scenes, and Alfonso himself seated on a grand throne on a cart pulled by four white horses.[4]

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[1] Charles M. Rosenberg, "Introduction," in *The Court Cities of Northern Italy: Milan, Parma, Piacenza, Mantua, Ferrara, Bologna, Urbino, Pesaro, and Rimini*, ed. Charles M. Rosenberg (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 1 and 4-5.
[2] Charles M. Rosenberg, "The Use of Celebrations in Public and Semi-Public Affairs in Fifteenth-Century Ferrara," in *Il teatro italiano del Rinascimento*, ed. Maristella de Panizza Lorch (Milan: Edizioni di Comunità, 1980), 521.
[3] Randolph Starn and Loren Partridge, *Arts of Power: Three Halls of State in Italy, 1300-1600* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 158-159.
[4] Margaret Ann Zaho, *Imago Triumphalis: The Function and Significance of Triumphal Imagery for Italian Renaissance Rulers* (New York: Peter Lang, 2004), 46 and 49-51 and Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy, Volume II*, trans. S. G. C. Middlemore (New York: Harper & Row, 1958), 417.

A royal entry marked a major festival for a city. Typically, important figures would greet the guest at the gates, then process with them into the town, ritually passing through other gates and arches. Though they may have started out simply, by the fifteenth century these events had become quite lavish, with street pageants, tableaux, and theatrical performances. Actors would personify different virtues and allegories, or important biblical and historical figures.[5] As mentioned in chapter one, for Borso d'Este's triumphal arrival in Reggio in 1453, he was greeted by such figures as the Seven Virtues and Julius Caesar.[6] This was followed by Borso's even more elaborate procession to Rome in 1471, which included an entourage of over 500 people.[7] In Mantua, the arrival of Pope Pius II in 1459 was a significant event, as were the triumphal entries of Emperor Charles V in the spring of 1530 and again in November 1532.[8]

These triumphal entries were not just for visiting dignitaries, but also for victorious *condottieri* returning from battle, such as Francesco's entry into Mantua in 1495.[9] As in antiquity, these types of *trionfi* might have included displays of the spoils of war and the parading of conquering heroes.[10] Triumphal entries were not limited to men: women were also granted grand arrivals into their new home cities at the time of their

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[5] Loren Partridge and Randolph Starn, "Triumphalism and the Sala Regia in the Vatican," in *"All the world's a stage…" Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque. Part 1: Triumphal Celebrations and the Rituals of Statecraft*, ed. Barbara Wisch and Susan Munshower (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University, 1990), 24; Roy Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), 7-8; and Joseph Manca, *Andrea Mantegna and the Italian Renaissance* (New York: Parkstone Press, International, 2006), 133.
[6] Strong, *Art and Power*, 45.
[7] Zaho, *Imago*, 99-100.
[8] Bonner Mitchell, *Italian Civic Pageantry in the High Renaissance* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1979), 68 and 70.
[9] Strong, *Art and Power*, 44.
[10] Partridge and Starn, "Triumphalism," 24.

marriage. For example, Isabella d'Este, when arriving in Mantua for her wedding to Francesco in 1490, rode in a triumphal cart, mimicking the triumphal entries of military victors of antiquity.[11]

Public entries of visiting guests were an occasion that required extra decorations. For these parades through the city, buildings along the processional route and city gates would be draped with cloth and banners, or perhaps flowers, in addition to significant emblems. Arches were constructed and actors would perform on temporary stages. As the fifteenth century progressed, these events frequently incorporated more classically-inspired elements. Triumphal arches would often be the centerpiece for street theatrics. The arch itself was a place for additional decorations, including banners, tapestries, paintings, inscriptions, sculptures, and coats of arms. The arches were a site for plays, *tableaux vivants*, and speeches.[12]

Though much effort went into the creation of the arches and staging of plays, the real focus was on the moving procession itself—with chariots and characters in costume—whose aim was to impress, not so much the visiting ruler or the court, but the populace. Parades also included pageant floats, designed to resemble mountains, castles, temples, and so forth. Rulers invested large sums of money in these decorations and the painted cloths that hung from all surfaces, as they were seen at times by thousands of people and were a way for rulers to reaffirm their power and status and to associate themselves with particular historical or allegorical figures.[13]

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[11] Manca, *Mantegna*, 127.
[12] George R. Kernodle, *From Art to Theatre: Form and Convention in the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944), 72 and 90 and Rosenberg, "Introduction," 6.
[13] Kernodle, *From Art to Theatre*, 59 and 62.

Within the palace walls, away from the eyes of the general public, guests and fellow nobles would be entertained in myriad ways. This could include masques, court fêtes, and spectacles. Spectacles were wide-ranging, encompassing not only theater, but dance, music, and recitation, or even fireworks. Unlike triumphal entries and processions, which were meant for the public, these spectacles were only intended for members of the court.[14]

Weddings were a ritual that included both public and private elements, with aspects of pageantry and theater. While there was regional variation to marriage ceremonies, there was also a certain expected order of events. Weddings typically began with the triumphal entry of the bride, followed by a mass, exchange of vows, and presentation of gifts. There would also be banquets, balls, and perhaps jousts or tournaments. By the late fifteenth century, in cities such as Ferrara (ruled by the Este family), theatrical performances became an integral part of marriage festivities.[15]

There were a number of elaborate Este marriage ceremonies in the late Quattrocento. Ercole d'Este's marriage to Eleonora of Aragon was an extravagant affair lasting two months. The celebrations began in the bride's native Naples and culminated in festivities in Ferrara. Along the way, celebrations included grand entries, banquets, dances, and jousts.[16] When Eleonora arrived in Ferrara in 1473, there was a parade in her

[14] Strong, *Art and Power*, 18-21 and 40 and Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, "Early Modern European Festivals – Politics and Performance, Event and Record," in *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics and Performance*, ed. J. R. Mulryne and Elizabeth Goldring (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002), 15-16.
[15] Rosenberg, "Celebrations," 350.
[16] Jacqueline Marie Musacchio, "Wives, Lovers, and Art in Italian Renaissance Courts," in *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Andrea Bayer (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008), 32.

honor with allegorical floats, 120 trumpeters, dances, jousts, and a feast of 56 courses, along with decorative sugar sculptures. The festivities in Ferrara continued for eight days.[17] Her entry, like the others described here, drew on the triumphal entries of Roman generals of antiquity—like that seen in the *Triumphs of Caesar*—as reimagined and repurposed by Renaissance artists and writers, such as Petrarch.

In the 1480s, marriages for Ercole's two legitimate daughters, Isabella and Beatrice, were arranged. (Isabella's wedding to Francesco Gonzaga is discussed below.) Beatrice d'Este wed Lodovico Sforza in January 1491. She entered the city of Milan to great fanfare, accompanied by members of the nobility and musicians. Street pageants were held, along with dances and a three-day joust.[18] The celebration was, in fact, a double wedding, for the same year Alfonso d'Este married Anna Sforza. For the occasion, the Sala della Balla in Milan was decorated with a historical cycle painted on canvas.[19] Theatrical performances were staged at the time of the marriage, and again for Alfonso's second marriage to Lucrezia Borgia in 1502 in Ferrara.[20] On that occasion, Lucrezia was met at the gates of the city by a procession of nobles, with 75 archers on horseback and 80 trumpeters. The parade included 14 floats and 86 mules, carting the

[17] Deborah L. Krohn, "Rites of Passage: Art Objects to Celebrate Betrothal, Marriage, and the Family," in *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Andrea Bayer (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008), 61 and Anthony F. D'Elia, *The Renaissance of Marriage in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 46.
[18] Musacchio, "Wives," 32-33.
[19] Julian Kliemann, *Gesta Dipinte: La grande decorazione nelle dimore italiane dal Quattrocento al Seicento* (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 1993), 13.
[20] Alessandro D'Ancona, *Origini del Teatro Italiano, Volume II* (Rome: Bardi Editore, 1996), 373-374.

bride's clothes and jewels. The palace was decorated for the festivities with the "house draperies."[21] The week-long celebration included music, poetry, and orations.

Weddings often featured pantomimes with mythological characters, such as at the marriage of Annibale Bentivoglio to Lucrezia d'Este at Bologna in 1487. This wedding was a grand event: buildings along the processional route were actually demolished to make room for the large crowds. In the Palazzo Bentivoglio, theatrical performances were staged in the *sala maggiore*, impressively decorated for the occasion with tapestries, flora, and items of gold and silver.[22] For the wedding of Gian Galeazzo Sforza and Isabella of Aragon in Milan in 1488, Leonardo da Vinci transformed the streets into a garden, as the couple processed under arches of juniper, laurel, and ivy.[23]

Marriage celebrations frequently included triumphal elements, both historical and allegorical. For the wedding of Alfonso d'Este and Lucrezia Borgia, the triumphs of Julius Caesar, Paulus Aemilius, and Scipio Africanus were staged in Rome.[24] For the celebration of the couple's marriage in Ferrara, Isabella d'Este (who witnessed the festivities) wrote of seeing arches erected in the streets.[25] In Pesaro in 1475, for the wedding of Costanzo Sforza and Camilla Marzano d'Aragona, there were a number of triumphant figures, borrowed from the writings of Petrarch: after the feast, the guests

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[21] D'Elia, *Renaissance of Marriage*, 46. Isabella d'Este travelled to Ferrara for her brother's wedding and wrote detailed accounts to her husband, Francesco, in Mantua. For the bride's arrival, see Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 2993, Libro 13, cc. 34^{r}-35^{r}. Translated in Shemek, document 262. See Deanna Shemek, ed. and trans., *Isabella d'Este: Selected Letters* (Ontario: Iter Press, 2017).
[22] Burckhardt, *Civilization, Vol. II*, 410 and Andrea Bayer, "Introduction: Art and Love in Renaissance Italy," in *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Andrea Bayer (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008), 4-5.
[23] Sergio Bertelli, Franco Cardini, and Elvira Garbero Zorzi, *Italian Renaissance Courts* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1986), 164.
[24] Strong, *Art and Power*, 46.
[25] Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 2993, Libro 13, cc. 31^{r}-32^{r}. Translated in Shemek, document 260.

were met with a float of the Triumph of Chastity made from pure white sugar and led by two white oxen; in the evening, accompanied by fireworks, was a parade of the Triumph of Love. After jousting on the last day of celebrations, victors were invited to ride in the cart of the Triumph of Fame, alongside actors portraying Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar.[26] The wedding also featured lavish decorations: the great hall of the palace in Pesaro was bedecked with foliage and fruit, tapestries and carpets, and a ceiling with stars and the signs of the zodiac.[27]

Though weddings and other celebrations were expensive to produce, rulers such as the Gonzaga and the Este of Ferrara had access to financial resources and a level of independence that enabled them to stage these elaborate festivals, sometimes with short notice. They also had artists in their employ who they could command to create the necessary decorations.[28] Court artists were very much involved in the decoration of these various events. For example, Leonardo, while working for the Sforza of Milan, created a backdrop of stars, planets, and zodiac signs that could move for a theatrical spectacle, the *Festa del Paradiso*, held by the Duchess Isabella in 1490.[29] As court artists, Leonardo, Mantegna, and others produced any number of decorative objects for their patrons, including costumes, ornaments, and displays for festivals. In the late fifteenth century,

[26] Jane Bridgeman and Alan Griffiths, *A Renaissance Wedding: The Celebrations at Pesaro for the marriage of Costanzo Sforza and Camilla Marzano d'Aragona 26-30 May 1475* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2013), 34.
[27] Bridgeman and Griffiths, *Renaissance Wedding*, 31.
[28] Werner L. Gundersheimer, "Popular Spectacle and the Theatre in Renaissance Ferrara," in *Il teatro italiano del Rinascimento*, ed. Maristella de Panizza Lorch (Milan: Edizioni di Comunità, 1980), 28-29.
[29] Strong, *Art and Power*, 36-37 and Bertelli, Cardini, and Zorzi, *Italian*, 142.

scenes of triumph were a customary part of the decorative scheme, an artistic tradition in which Mantegna must certainly have taken part.

II. Theater

Festivals in Renaissance Italy frequently revolved around a ruling prince, as an opportunity to communicate his status and power. A great deal of contemporary writing details these spectacles, masques, tournaments, and so forth, suggesting the level of importance attached to them. The court fête was a chance for Renaissance rulers to align themselves with heroes of the past, as these spectacles often drew on ancient traditions.[30] Plays, aimed at elite audiences and commonly filled with esoteric symbols, were a way to glorify a leader.[31] Rulers could gain prestige through their theatrical productions, which is why many nobles—in Mantua, Ferrara, Urbino, Milan—were patrons of the theater. Dramatic performances in Italy, as a whole, were viewed as a celebration, a festive occasion, and the scenery would contribute to that overall spirit.[32]

Humanist theater began to appear in Italy in the late fifteenth century. These performances were based on classical models, particularly the plays of Terence and Plautus.[33] In the late Quattrocento, Italian courts began staging revivals of ancient plays in Latin. These seem to have begun at the Roman Academy in 1486, with performances

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[30] Strong, *Art and Power*, 21-22 and 40-41.
[31] Gundersheimer, "Popular Spectacle," 26 and 30.
[32] Oscar G. Brockett and Franklin J. Hildy, *History of the Theatre, Ninth Edition* (New York: Allyn and Bacon, 2003), 169-170 and Lily B. Campbell, *Scenes and Machines on the English Stage During the Renaissance: A Classical Revival* (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1923), 14.
[33] Jack Watson and Grant McKernie, *A Cultural History of Theatre* (White Plains, NY: Longman Publishing Group, 1993), 82 and 87.

held in palace halls, public squares, and in the Castel Sant'Angelo.[34] Starting in the same year, the Este court of Ferrara began regularly mounting comedies.[35] By the end of the reign of Ercole d'Este, most of the major plays by Plautus and many of the works by Terence had been produced in Ferrara.[36] Other courts quickly followed with their own stagings of ancient productions, or of modern dramas based on classical themes and styles.[37] At this time sets remained rudimentary, often drawing on artworks and decorative elements already found at court. It was not until the sixteenth century that sets in perspective began being used in theater.

Many of the advancements in theater at this time can be traced back to Ferrara. Great dramatic festivals were performed regularly in Ferrara from 1486 to 1502, especially for Carnival celebrations.[38] Plautus's *Menaechmi*, a classical comedy, was performed in translation in the Cortile Grande of the Palazzo Ducale of Ferrara on January 25, 1486.[39] Though the works of Plautus were known amongst courtiers, this marked the first occasion of a production of the *Menaechmi* since antiquity.[40] The

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[34] Brockett and Hildy, *History*, 164 and Raimondo Guarino, "Performing theatre: on acting in the early Renaissance," in *The Renaissance Theatre: Texts, Performance, Design; Volume 2: Design, Image and Acting*, ed. Christopher Cairns (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1999), 109.
[35] Michael Anderson, "The Changing Scene: Plays and Playhouses in the Italian Renaissance," in *Theatre of the English and Italian Renaissance*, ed. J. R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), 4.
[36] Werner L. Gundersheimer, *Ferrara: The Style of a Renaissance Despotism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), 211.
[37] Manca, *Mantegna*, 136.
[38] Cesare Molinari, "L'idée de théâtre dans la Renaissance italienne," *Revue Internationale de Philosophie* Vol. 64, No. 252 (2010): 233 and Gundersheimer, "Popular Spectacle," 31. The revival of classical theater in Ferrara at Carnival time in 1486 may have had political motivations: following the war with Venice, the city was struggling, and the productions may have contributed symbolically towards the city's recovery. Rosenberg, "Celebrations," 534.
[39] Rosenberg, "Celebrations," 532.
[40] Gundersheimer, *Ferrara*, 210 and Molly Bourne, *Francesco II Gonzaga: The Soldier-Prince as Patron* (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 2008), 211-212.

performance occurred on a stage set along the south side of the courtyard, with the audience of approximately 1,000 people sitting opposite, and lasted four to five hours. The drama, which was very expensive to produce, was well-received by those in attendance, which included Francesco Gonzaga, who had travelled to Ferrara specifically for the performance. On the stage, built especially for the occasion, were paintings of five houses as backdrops. In the following years, plays were more typically held indoors (possibly for practical reasons associated with the weather).[41]

For the performance of *Amphitrione* by Plautus in January 1487, to celebrate the marriage of Lucrezia d'Este and Annibale Bentivoglio in Ferrara, the backdrop included an elaborate set to represent the heavens.[42] Many visiting dignitaries were present for the wedding celebrations, including Francesco, whose engagement to Isabella d'Este had long since been arranged.[43] An account of another performance of the same play a few weeks later notes its ingenious effects, including Jupiter descending from heaven and representations of the Labors of Hercules.[44] Niccolò da Correggio's *Cefalo* was also performed in Ferrara in January 1487, in the courtyard of the ducal palace.[45] This was not an ancient work, but what is sometimes referred to as a "hybrid" play—a

[41] Rosenberg, "Celebrations," 532-533 and Gundersheimer, *Ferrara*, 210.
[42] Gundersheimer, "Popular Spectacle," 31.
[43] Gundersheimer, *Ferrara*, 211 and D'Ancona, *Origini del Teatro*, 365. Francesco visited Ferrara at least once a year between his engagement to Isabella in 1480 and their marriage in 1490. Mary Harris Bourne, "Out of the Shadow of Isabella: The Artistic Patronage of Francesco II Gonzaga, Fourth Marquis of Mantua (1484-1519)" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1997), 18.
[44] Gundersheimer, "Popular Spectacle," 31. The diarist Bernardino Zambotti provides detailed accounts of the productions. See Bertelli, Cardini, and Zorzi, *Italian*, 135.
[45] Gundersheimer, *Ferrara*, 211.

contemporary story, inspired by classical works. (The play proved to be less successful than the ancient comedies.)[46]

Menaechmi and *Amphitrione* were produced again, along with *Andria* by Terence, in 1491, for the wedding celebrations of Alfonso d'Este and Anna Sforza. The *Menaechmi* must have proved popular, for it was staged again in 1493 when Lodovico Sforza was visiting Ferrara.[47] In 1502, for the celebration of Alfonso d'Este's second marriage, to Lucrezia Borgia, there were five plays by Plautus (*Epidicus*, *Bacchides*, *Miles Gloriosus*, *Asinaria*, and *Casina*), and though there was only one set, there were 110 new costumes.[48] The productions were staged in a large *sala* in the Palazzo della Ragione of Ferrara, measuring about 45 by 14 meters.[49] Isabella d'Este stayed in Ferrara for over a week for the wedding festivities of her brother, and wrote in detail about the many productions she saw to her husband, who remained in Mantua.[50] In describing the hall where the plays would be performed, Isabella wrote that the "ceiling and the tiers are covered with green, red, and white fabric," and that "opposite the tiers, is a wooden platform rimmed like the walls of a city and as tall as a man. On this are the houses for the comedy, which are six and are not positioned in the usual way."[51]

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[46] Nino Pirrotta and Elena Povoledo, *Music and Theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi*, trans. Karen Eales (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 38.
[47] Pirrotta and Povoledo, *Music and Theatre*, 38-39.
[48] Pirrotta and Povoledo, *Music and Theatre*, 304 and Shemek, *Isabella*, 173-174. Isabella described the costumes to her husband in a letter from February 3, 1502. Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 2993, Libro 13, cc. 36^{r}-37^{r}. Translated in Shemek, document 264.
[49] Bourne, *Francesco II*, 215. Most theatrical performances in Ferrara starting in the 1490s were held in the *sala grande* in the Palazzo Ducale, however in 1502 for the wedding celebrations this room was used for balls and banquets, and thus a different space was needed for theatrical performances. Bourne, "Patronage of Francesco," 341, note 137.
[50] Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 2993, Libro 13, cc. 31^{r} through 42^{v}. Translated in Shemek, document 258-270. See also Pirrotta and Povoledo, *Music and Theatre*, 51 and 304.
[51] Translated in Shemek, document 258.

There was a definite distinction in Ferrara between secular and sacred theater. Revivals of ancient plays tended to be performed within the grounds of the palace for a court audience, whereas *sacre rappresentazioni* could occur in public spaces outside or inside churches.[52] Sometimes religious plays were also a part of marriage celebrations: in 1488, a production of the *Life of St. John the Baptist* was performed at the wedding of Duke Guidobaldo da Montefeltro and Elisabetta Gonzaga in Casteldurante (modern-day Urbania).[53]

During the Medieval period, plays more commonly had a religious focus; during the Renaissance, the subject of plays began to be based on more classical models. There was great overlap between Medieval and Renaissance theater, with both types coexisting in the fifteenth century and, indeed, with many Medieval elements remaining dominant until the start of the sixteenth century.[54] Medieval productions, performed in town squares and outside or within churches, could have multiple sets side by side, representing different locations, all displayed at once.[55] As classical theater became more prevalent, however, changes in theater and stage design were necessary. Naturally, the types of backdrops appropriate for religious productions did not well suit classical plays. Stage designers of the sixteenth century took inspiration from Vitruvius, whose architectural writings of the late first century BCE were first published in Italy in 1486, and later with illustrations in 1511.[56] Vitruvius wrote of three different types of scenes—

[52] Gundersheimer, "Popular Spectacle," 32.
[53] Bertelli, Cardini, and Zorzi, *Italian*, 153.
[54] Phyllis Hartnoll, *The Theatre: A Concise History* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1998), 51 and Brockett and Hildy, *History*, 157.
[55] Watson and McKernie, *History of Theatre*, 74 and 81.
[56] Guarino, "Performing theatre," 109 and Hartnoll, *Theatre*, 51.

tragic, comic, and satiric—with corresponding designs. Tragic scenes featured columns and statues, comic scenes were clusters of houses, and satiric ones were rustic, outdoor settings.[57]

For our purposes, the types of dramas performed are not so much of interest as the manner of backdrops and sets, and thus how Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar* may have been incorporated into theatrical productions. Early sites of performances were not permanent theaters, but palace halls, courtyards, and gardens decorated for the occasion. Backdrops were fairly simple: a cluster of houses for comedies, or classical pillars and temples for tragedies.[58] Aspects of the palace and court itself, including tapestries, paintings, and sculptures, could become a part of the theatrical setting. Productions held outdoors were at times performed on a basic wooden stage, with decorations that could range from the simple to the exquisite.[59] The world of Renaissance theater during these early days was quite fluid, with different spaces functioning as performance sites, and objects and settings being adapted to suit the needs of the drama.

For these early productions in the late Quattrocento, when classical plays were just beginning to be produced, and medieval theatrical elements were still prevalent, sets usually did not change over the course of the drama. For a play in Bologna in 1487, the

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[57] Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture*, trans. Ingrid D. Rowland (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 70 (5.6.9). See also Fabio Finotti, "Perspective and Stage Design, Fiction and Reality in the Italian Renaissance Theater of the Fifteenth Century," *Renaissance Drama* Vol. 36/37 (2010): 27.
[58] Kate Simon, *A Renaissance Tapestry: The Gonzaga of Mantua* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 211-212. Eventually, some sets were designed to resemble actual locations, such as the Piazza della Signoria in Florence.
[59] Allardyce Nicoll, *The Development of the Theatre: A Study of Theatrical Art from the Beginnings to the Present Day* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1966), 70.

backdrops of houses were wheeled from spot to spot. In Ferrara, backdrops of different houses were regarded as unified parts representing a single street scene.[60]

Thus, before 1500, the staging of classical comedies, by primarily amateur actors, was done in somewhat rudimentary settings. Over the course of the sixteenth century, theater in Italy grew and developed, so that by the close of the century plays were staged in permanent theaters with elaborate sets. A significant step in the evolution of theatrical backdrops was the introduction of illusionistic scenery painted in perspective. These sets drew on ancient designs and presented a realistic, unified backdrop (unlike the more common juxtaposition of multiple scenes found in medieval theater).[61] It became standard that sets for a play represented a single locality, as had been true in antiquity. As was the case in the fifteenth century, the sets did not always align with the story being performed: the scenic designer often worked separately from the producer of the play. The sets and the drama itself were separate entities.[62] The *Triumphs of Caesar* might have been used as a backdrop for a classical play about a military victory, but could have equally been used for a production with a completely different subject.

The emergence of perspective in theatrical scenery drew on Brunelleschi's discoveries of a century earlier along with the contemporary advancements of perspective in painting by northern artists, including Mantegna.[63] These types of illusionistic scenes were present at a play in Ferrara as early as 1508, in the staging of *Cassaria* by Ariosto

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[60] Nicoll, *Development*, 71-72.
[61] Finotti, "Perspective," 26.
[62] Anderson, "Changing Scene," 5 and 14 and Fabrizio Cruciani, "Il teatro e la festa," in *Il teatro italiano nel Rinascimento*, ed. Fabrizio Cruciani and Daniele Seragnoli (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1987), 41.
[63] Strong, *Art and Power*, 36 and Finotti, "Perspective," 30.

with a backdrop by Pellegrino da Udine. The word "perspective," in fact, is first used in reference to stage setting in a letter from that year by Bernardino Prosperi to Isabella d'Este, in which he describes the scenes for *Cassaria*.[64]

Further advancements in theater design were made with the publication of the second part of Sebastiano Serlio's book *Architettura* in 1545. In the second part he discusses theater, and proposes three basic stage designs: two different types of street views in perspective (one for comedies and one for tragedies) and a scene of nature for satyr or pastoral plays.[65] The streets in perspective often culminated in a triumphal arch, as seen in the text's woodcut illustrations (figures 3.1 to 3.3).[66] These three types of backdrops, based on the writings of Vitruvius, remained influential for centuries.[67] At this point in time, plays were still performed predominantly in large palace halls, so Serlio's sets were intended to be installed in already existing spaces.[68] Upper class, humanist theater was only performed on special occasions for the court, at the demand of the prince—such as to celebrate a marriage or birth, for the arrival of a visiting dignitary, or for Carnival. As theater in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries was associated solely with special occasions, permanent theaters were not being constructed at that time. The first permanent theaters were not built until later in the sixteenth century, with the

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[64] Pirrotta and Povoledo, *Music and Theatre*, 316; Anderson, "Changing Scene," 5; and Antonio Stäuble, "Scenografia," in *Il teatro italiano nel Rinascimento*, ed. Fabrizio Cruciani and Daniele Seragnoli (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1987), 73.
[65] Hartnoll, *Theatre*, 57 and Brockett and Hildy, *History*, 167.
[66] Kernodle, *From Art to Theatre*, 39 and Klaus Neiiendam, "'Il portico' and 'la bottega' on the early Italian perspective stage: a comparative study in the theatre iconography," in *The Renaissance Theatre: Texts, Performance, Design; Volume 2: Design, Image and Acting*, ed. Christopher Cairns (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1999), 29.
[67] Hartnoll, *Theatre*, 57; Brockett and Hildy, *History*, 167; and Neiiendam, "Italian perspective," 29.
[68] Brockett and Hildy, *History*, 167.

oldest surviving theater from Renaissance Italy only commissioned in 1580: the Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza, designed by Andrea Palladio.[69]

However, these advancements in illusionistic backdrops and the prevalence of scenes painted in perspective all occurred after the time when Mantegna's *Triumphs* was known to have been used for theater productions—that is, in 1497, 1501, and 1507. It is more helpful, then, to examine the types of productions of the last decades of the fifteenth century and first decade of the sixteenth century that may have utilized paintings like the *Triumphs*. In particular, we shall turn our focus now towards *intermezzi*.

III. *Intermezzi*

Tragedies did not occupy a prominent place in Italian Renaissance theater, as comedies were much more common. However, comedies were not always sufficient for a ruler to show off his riches or to satisfy the court's desire for mythological subjects. These gaps were filled by the *intermezzi*, performed between acts.[70] *Intermezzi* developed out of the types of entertainment associated with Carnival and special occasions at court. They were then paired with the staging of comedies, starting in the late fifteenth century. *Intermezzi* were usually performed at the start and end of a play and between each of the (typically) five acts—thus there were six *intermezzi* in total.[71] The first mention of *intermezzi* (sometimes spelled *intermedi*) seems to occur in 1487, in

[69] Watson and McKernie, *History of Theatre*, 92 and 96.
[70] Molinari, "L'idée," 241.
[71] John W. Cunliffe, "Italian Prototypes of the Masque and Dumb Show," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* Vol. XXII, No. 1 (March 1907): 150-151 and Brockett and Hildy, *History*, 163.

the writings of the Ferrarese diarist Barnardino Zambotti, in his discussion of the production of *Cefalo*—though it is unclear at this early date what precise form the *intermezzi* may have taken.[72] *Intermezzi* could be songs or dances, and though they often had no direct connection to the play being performed, they did draw parallels between historical and mythological figures and those for whom the production was being staged.[73] They could, therefore, be a powerful tool of politics and diplomacy. (Over time, the *intermezzi* did come to have a greater connection both to each other and to the main drama.)[74]

Patrons liked to amaze their audiences: as one author writes, the "theatre of sight and sound dominated the theatre of mind and matter."[75] *Intermezzi* often had spectacular scenery, with stunning costumes, special effects, music, and dance.[76] The *intermezzi* might include historical or allegorical figures, processions, dances, and poetry. Audiences enjoyed the funny pantomimes and the vast displays of wealth, resulting in the *intermezzi* often being more popular than the play itself.[77] As one scholar writes, the *intermezzi* were frequently so elaborate that "the play was almost smothered by them."[78] Some critics felt the *intermezzi* distracted from the drama, but as a whole they were well-received by audiences.

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[72] Pirrotta and Povoledo, *Music and Theatre*, 46. It is clear that, from the start, performances in Ferrara were divided into acts.
[73] Cunliffe, "Italian Prototypes," 150-151 and Brockett and Hildy, *History*, 163.
[74] Brockett and Hildy, *History*, 163.
[75] Watson and McKernie, *History of Theatre*, 88.
[76] Strong, *Art and Power*, 39 and Brockett and Hildy, *History*, 163.
[77] Paul Kristeller, *Andrea Mantegna*, trans. Arthur Strong (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1901), 286 and Watson and McKernie, *History of Theatre*, 87-88.
[78] Kristeller, *Mantegna* (English), 287.

Correspondence from the time shows that spectators tended to discuss the *intermezzi* more than the play itself.[79] While Isabella was in Ferrara for the wedding of her brother Alfonso, she wrote to her husband daily about the festivities. In her letters discussing theater, though she provides the names of the plays she saw (*Epidicus*, *Bacchides*, *Casina*, and so forth), her descriptions are almost exclusively of the *intermezzi*. Over the many nights of theater, she recounts the *intermezzi* in great detail, which included battles between soldiers in ancient dress, jugglers, a dragon seeming to devour a maiden, men hunting, Love shooting arrows and reciting verse, and actors covered in silver carrying mirrors and candles.[80]

In Ferrara, as the production of Latin comedies became a frequent feature of court life, *intermezzi* developed as an important—and popular—aspect of the performance. A letter from the Milanese ambassadors to their Duke in 1491 describes the manner of the *intermezzi* that accompanied a production of the *Menaechmi*. They included dances with torches, a vignette of Apollo and the Muses singing and playing the lute, and a dance with peasants keeping time with their tools.[81] Sometimes the same play would be performed in quick succession, but with entirely new *intermezzi*: for example, in 1499, the *Eunuchus* by Terence was performed twice in a period of four days, but with different *intermezzi*. The subject of the *intermezzi* was not so important as their novelty, the manner in which they were presented.[82] *Intermezzi* continued to be present in the

[79] Cunliffe, "Italian Prototypes," 152-154 and Pirrotta and Povoledo, *Music and Theatre*, 47.
[80] Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 2993, Libro 13, cc. 36^{r}-37^{r}, cc. 37^{r}-38^{r}, cc. 38^{v}-39^{v}, cc. 40^{v}-41^{v}, and cc. 42^{r-v}. Translated in Shemek, document 264-266, document 268, and document 270.
[81] Cunliffe, "Italian Prototypes," 151.
[82] Pirrotta and Povoledo, *Music and Theatre*, 47 and 51.

production of Italian comedies. They grew to become grand spectacles in their own right, culminating with the *intermezzi* performed in Florence at the marriage of Cosimo I de' Medici and Eleonora of Toledo in 1539.[83]

Many of the developments in stage design at the time related to the production of the *intermezzi*. They were intended to be a spectacle, and thus required spectacular scenery. Additionally, the scenery needed to be able to change quickly, to switch between the *intermezzi* and the main production. This led to experimentation and the advancement in technology for moving and shifting sets. Though the main production may have utilized a single scene as a backdrop, *intermezzi* often incorporated chariots, fountains, ships, and other props of the type that were also used in street processions.[84] As the *intermezzi* were frequently classical or allegorical in nature, paintings such as the *Triumphs of Caesar* would have made ideal—and easily mobile—backdrops.

IV. Contemporary Documentation

Having now broadly outlined the production of ephemeral events in Italy at this time, we can turn specifically to Mantua and the manner in which the *Triumphs of Caesar* was deployed. Three documents from the reign of Francesco II Gonzaga offer concrete evidence for the use of the *Triumphs* in a theatrical context. Specifically, the painting was used in this manner in 1497, 1501, and 1507. Frustratingly, the documentary evidence is not particularly clear as to exactly how the canvases functioned in connection

[83] Cunliffe, "Italian Prototypes," 151 and Molinari, "L'idée," 242.
[84] Brockett and Hildy, *History*, 163 and Kernodle, *From Art to Theatre*, 16.

with theatrical performances. Each document shall be examined here in turn. I will then proceed to a discussion of theater and ephemeral events in Mantua, focusing on the specific events—both certain and speculative—for which the *Triumphs* may have been used as a form of backdrop or decoration.

To begin, let us review the timeline of the painting's execution. We know from Silvestro Calandra's letter that at least two canvases were completed by August 1486. Correspondence from the late 1480s and early 1490s tells us that work on the series was still in progress at that time. As I argued in chapter two, I believe the series was commissioned by Federico Gonzaga and that Mantegna initiated the project around 1480 or 1481, with the intention of the painting being permanently installed in the Domus Nova. By 1497—the year the series is first referenced as being used in a theatrical manner—Mantegna would have had time to complete a number of canvases (even accounting for his two-year stay in Rome from 1488 to 1490). Documentation from 1501 indicates that at least six canvases were completed by that date. Mantegna passed away in 1506, therefore in 1507, when we have the final reference to the *Triumphs*' use in theater, all nine canvases would have been completed.

A letter dated January 14, 1497 from Fedele da Forlì to Marquis Francesco is the first reference to the *Triumphs* having been used for some sort of theatrical purpose.[85] The author, an official working for the Gonzaga, writes that he understands that Bishop Lodovico intends to use the canvases as decoration for an outdoor courtyard of the

[85] Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 2449, f. 644[r]. Reproduced in Martindale, document 12. See Andrew Martindale, *The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna, in the Collection of her Majesty the Queen at Hampton Court* (London: Harvey Miller, 1979), for the transcription of many relevant documents.

Palazzo Ducale, along with "many other precious ornaments," for a *festa* of some sort.[86] Measures are suggested to prevent any damage to the painting from rain by, in particular, the covering of the courtyard with a roofing of wooden planks.[87] How precisely the *Triumphs* was utilized is unknown.

The use of the *Triumphs* in a theatrical performance in 1501 is better documented. On February 23, 1501 Sigismondo Cantelmo wrote a letter to Duke Ercole d'Este of Ferrara relating a performance in Mantua in which the *Triumphs of Caesar* was used as a form of stage decoration.[88] Cantelmo's account of the temporary theater, likely located in or near the Palazzo Ducale complex, is extremely detailed, though not entirely clear. It seems that the *Triumphs* was not used as a backdrop for the play, but rather decorated the sides of a temporary theater. Specifically, six of the paintings (perhaps the only ones completed at that point) were displayed between arches on columns on a wall opposite the stage.[89] The theater was seemingly oblong in shape, with columns or pillars on the walls. The space between these columns measured about 2.79 meters, the width of one canvas.[90]

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[86] E. Tietze-Conrat, *Mantegna: Paintings, Drawings, Engravings* (London: Phaidon Press, 1955), 183; Thomas Arlt, *Andrea Mantegna, Triumph Caesars: Ein Meisterwerk der Renaissance in neuem Licht* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2005), 34; and Manca, *Mantegna*, 136.
[87] Bourne, *Francesco II*, 213.
[88] Modena, Archivio di Stato. Cancelleria Ducale, Ambasciatori, Mantova, b. 1, fasc. 48, cc. n.n. Reproduced in Bourne, *Francesco II*, document 158. This document is also transcribed in D'Ancona, *Origini del Teatro*, 381-382; Paul Kristeller, *Andrea Mantegna* (Berlin: Cosmos Verlag für Kunst und Wissenschaft, 1902), document 156; and Martindale, document 13. In all three it is listed as February 13.
[89] Kristeller, *Mantegna* (English), 283; Campbell, *Scenes and Machines*, 45; and Charles Hope, "The Chronology of Mantegna's *Triumphs*," in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Craig Hugh Smyth, Vol. II*, ed. Andrew Morrogh, et al. (Florence: Giunti Barbèra, 1985), 298. Charles Hope notes that the wall in question contained eight arches, and thus could have accommodated more canvases if such existed. As was detailed in chapter two, Hope interprets the 1501 letter to mean that only six paintings had been completed at that point.
[90] Ernest Law, *Mantegna's Triumph of Julius Caesar: As Hung in the Old Orangery Hampton Court Palace* (London: Selwyn & Blout Ltd., 1921), 30. Cantelmo's letter is translated in Pirrotta and Povoledo,

The temporary theater had been built on the instruction of Francesco for the staging of one new and three classical plays during the Carnival season. The *Triumphs of Caesar* was paired in the theater with a series of paintings of the *Triumphs of Petrarch*, also by Mantegna, with the Petrarchan paintings hung on the front of the seemingly elevated stage.[91] The stage was hung with tapestries; other decorations included coats of arms and emblems, arches, columns, and possibly antique statues.[92] The stage set itself seems to have been that of a grotto, created especially for the occasion.[93] (The production will be discussed in greater detail at a later point in this chapter.)

The *Triumphs of Caesar* was once again utilized for a theatrical purpose in 1507, a year after Mantegna's death. By 1512, the painting was permanently installed in Francesco's Palazzo San Sebastiano, and though it is unclear when precisely the series

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Music and Theatre, 313-314, note 6. Their translation is as follows: "Its shape was quadrangular, slightly longer than [it was] wide: two opposite sides had eight architraves with columns harmonizing with and proportioned to the height of the said arches. Their bases and capitals, painted most splendidly in the finest colours and decorated with leaves, represented to the mind a building ancient and eternal, full of beauty. The arches with flowers in relief formed a wonderful perspective: each was four *braza* [*braccia*] wide and proportionately high. Within the scene were golden drapes and some greenery as required by the plays. One side was decorated with six panels of the Triumph of Caesar by the inimitable hand of Mantegna. The other two sides opposite each had similar arches, but fewer in number, each having six of them. Two sides formed the stage for the jugglers and actors, the other two had tiers of seats assigned to the ladies, to Germans and others, to the trumpeters and musicians. At the corner joining one long and one short side four tall columns with round bases were to be seen, which supported [the figures of] the four principal winds. Between them was a grotto, artificial yet most natural. Above it was a sky shining with many lights like the most brilliant stars, and with a mechanical wheel bearing the signs [of the Zodiac], to the motion of which now the sun, now the moon revolved in their proper houses. Within [the grotto] was the wheel of Fortune with its tenses: *regno, regnavi, regnabo*: and the golden goddess herself was seated in the middle with a sceptre and a dolphin. Around the stage, at the foot of the frontispiece, were Petrarch's Triumphs also painted by the hand of the said Mantegna."

[91] Anderson, "Changing Scene," 11; Stephen J. Campbell, "Mantegna's Triumph: The Cultural Politics "all'antica" at the Court of Mantua, 1490-1530," in *Artists at Court: Image-Making and Identity, 1300-1550*, ed. Stephen J. Campbell (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2004), 100; and Kristeller, *Mantegna* (English), 283. At his *palacina* in the town of Gonzaga, Francesco had a set of *Triumphs*, which may have been the *Triumphs of Petrarch*. Bourne, *Francesco II*, 213. Mantegna's *Triumphs of Petrarch* have since been lost.

[92] Law, *Mantegna's Triumph*, 30 and Kernodle, *From Art to Theatre*, 188-189.

[93] Campbell, *Scenes and Machines*, 45.

was moved there, it seems to have occurred by late 1507.[94] The painting was used during a court festival in 1507 as theatrical scenery, as recounted in a letter from Fra Mariano Fetti, dated May 20, 1507.[95] In the letter, Fetti, the Gonzaga court *buffone*, jokingly suggested that Francesco should install the painting in his new garden at San Sebastiano, as the canvases had recently been successfully used there as scenery for a "comedia."[96] Theater flourished in Mantua under the patronage of Francesco and his wife, Isabella d'Este, and the *Triumphs* may have been used for any number of productions.

The *Triumphs of Caesar* was not unique in its use as a backdrop. Mantegna's lost *Triumphs of Petrarch* was also used for theatrical performances and as decorations on a few different occasions. For the Carnival production of 1501, the series served as decoration alongside Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar*. The two triumphs—of Petrarch and of Julius Caesar—would have been complementary, working in concert to emphasize both the cultural literacy and military power of the Gonzaga. In addition to this instance, the *Triumphs of Petrarch* may have served a similar function as a theater backdrop in 1503, 1505, and 1506. In February 1503, a series of "li tellari de li Triumphi" were transported from the town of Gonzaga to Mantua for a performance of Plautus's *Menaechmi*—some scholars believe these may have been the *Triumphs of Petrarch*.[97] A

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[94] Ronald Lightbown, *Mantegna: With a Complete Catalogue of the Paintings, Drawings and Prints* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 149 and Christopher Lloyd, *Andrea Mantegna: The Triumphs of Caesar* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1991), 19.

[95] E. K. Waterhouse, C. H. Collins Baker, and J. MacIntyre, "Mantegna's Cartoons at Hampton Court," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* Vol. 64, No. 372 (March 1934): 104 and W. Ormsby Gore, *The Triumph of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna in the Orangery at Hampton Court* (London: Printed for the Lord Chamberlain, 1935), 5. Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 857, c. 432^{v}. Reproduced in Martindale, document 22 and Bourne, document 246.

[96] Bourne, *Francesco II*, 208.

[97] Bourne, *Francesco II*, 213-214. Letter to Francesco, dated February 14, 1503. Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 2461, c. 596. Reproduced in Martindale, document 15 and Bourne, document 163.

hall in the Palazzo della Ragione (a large structure near the church of Sant'Andrea in Mantua) was another site frequently used for theatrical performances (figure 3.4). In January 1505, the room was seemingly decorated with two sets of paintings: the "canvases at Gonzaga," possibly the Petrarch series, and the *Triumphs* referenced as still being in Mantegna's studio—perhaps the *Triumphs of Caesar*.[98] Another play was performed at that location in December 1506; the space was again decorated with the *Triumphs* from the town of Gonzaga. The *sala* of the Palazzo della Ragione may have been selected as a suitable site for theatrical performances due to its large size of 56.4 by 17.2 meters, allowing it to accommodate more spectators than the courtyard in the Castello di San Giorgio (figure 3.5).[99]

V. Theater in Mantua

The Gonzaga utilized theater, processions, pageants, and other ephemeral events to impress not only the general public, but also their fellow nobles and court, along with visiting guests. Parades and entries, as discussed above, coincided with significant events: the arrival of a foreign dignitary, a military victor returning triumphantly home, or a bride travelling to the city for her wedding. These events were public spectacles, accompanied by a great deal of fanfare and decoration.[100] As there were no stand-alone

[98] Bourne, *Francesco II*, 214 and 416-417. Letter to Francesco, dated January 11, 1505. Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 2465, c. 25. Reproduced in Martindale, document 17 and Bourne, document 169. Letter from Francesco, dated January 12, 1505. Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 2913, Libro 186, f. 13^{v}. Reproduced in Martindale, document 18 and Bourne, document 170.
[99] Bourne, *Francesco II*, 213-214.
[100] Anthony B. Cashman III, "Public Life in Renaissance Mantua: Ritual and Power in the Age of the Gonzaga" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1999), 79. Balls, on the other hand, were typically private events,

theaters in Mantua at this time, dramatic productions were instead held in parts of the palace, adapted for the occasion. For example, comedies were at times staged in the courtyard of the Castello di San Giorgio or later at Palazzo San Sebastiano.[101]

The festive season in Mantua commenced on November 11, with the feast of St. Martin, marking the end of the harvest season. It continued through Christmas and New Year to Carnival and Fat Tuesday. Carnival was an important period in Mantua, but seems not to have been as wild as it was in certain other cities. The Gonzaga maintained control over the celebrations to prevent the unrest found elsewhere. Certain privileges related to Carnival, such as masking, were in fact banned by the Gonzaga in some years, during the reign of Lodovico, Federico, and Francesco. Francesco banned Carnival celebrations in 1485, but then allowed them in most—but not all—subsequent years of his rule. The revoking of Carnival privileges was usually tied to periods of political uncertainty, or a fear of dangerous behavior from the crowds.[102] As an example of the type of private court festivities found during Carnival time, in 1495 Giovanni Gonzaga hosted a ball that included a number of important guests, such as Rodolfo Gonzaga (brother of Federico I), Sigismondo, Duke of Calabria, and the Marquis Francesco himself (Isabella was in Milan at the time). Along with dinner and dancing, two

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hosted by the Gonzaga or other nobles, who would gain honor by having members of the Gonzaga family as their guests.

[101] Carla Cerati, *I Trionfi di Cesare di Andrea Mantegna e il Palazzo di S. Sebastiano in Mantova* (Mantua: Casa del Mantegna, 1989), 70.

[102] Cashman III, "Public Life," 78 and 139-146. Another major feast day in the Mantuan calendar was that of San Leonardo, celebrated on August 16, to coincide with the day the Gonzaga expelled the Bonacolsi. The festivities included a mass, procession to the palace, palio, and other games. Perhaps the most significant feast day in Mantua was that of the Ascension of Christ, celebrated forty days after Easter. This was especially relevant in Mantua as the church of Sant'Andrea housed the relic of the blood of Christ. See Cashman III, "Public Life," 154, 158, and 169-170.

comedies were performed. The first was to honor Francesco and the Duke of Calabria and included allegorical figures of Virtue and Fame in a triumphal chariot, further evidence of the popularity of triumphal motifs at this time.[103]

Before the revival of classical comedies began in the late 1480s, other types of performances were staged in Mantua. One significant work was Angelo Poliziano's *La Fabula d'Orfeo*. Various dates have been proposed for the first performance, usually thought to have occurred in the early 1470s (specifically, in 1471, 1472, or 1474), though possibly as late as 1480.[104] Staged in Mantua at the request of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga, *L'Orfeo* was not so much a drama as a pastoral with links to traditional *rappresentazioni*, lacking a narrative told through dialogue.[105] The production had its roots in medieval *sacre rappresentazioni*, and served as a magnificent spectacle to accompany princely feasts.[106] At the time, between different courses of a banquet, guests were entertained by music, dancing, juggling, and other such acts. Music was a significant feature of Poliziano's *Orfeo*.[107]

The backdrop of this early production seems to have been one set, that would have suited for all the different scenes. The set was apparently a "prettily flowered shaded hill," that may have been on a movable wagon. The performances likely occurred in the courtyard or one of the halls of the Palazzo Ducale, in a space decorated with

[103] Cashman III, "Public Life," 83-84.
[104] Pirrotta and Povoledo, *Music and Theatre*, 3 and D'Ancona, *Origini del Teatro*, 349-352.
[105] Stefano L'Occaso, "Mantua: The Gonzaga Family (1397-1519)," in *Courts and Courtly Arts in Renaissance Italy: Art, Culture and Politics, 1395-1530*, ed. Marco Folin (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 2011), 169 and Pirrotta and Povoledo, *Music and Theatre*, 3, note 2.
[106] D'Ancona, *Origini del Teatro*, 349-352.
[107] Pirrotta and Povoledo, *Music and Theatre*, 9-10 and 19.

tapestries and greenery. There may have been a stage made of wooden planks, or the actors simply performed from the floor. As a whole, for Cardinal Francesco's production, medieval staging conventions prevailed.[108]

The popularity of the production spread quickly. *Orphei tragoedia* was based on *La Fabula d'Orfeo*, though must have been written sometime before 1486, for it does not feature the systematic changes found in productions after the start of the revival of ancient theater in Ferrara. This new version was divided into five relatively short acts, with additional music featured.[109]

Francesco II attempted to revive *L'Orfeo* on two occasions in the early 1490s, both performances that were to be attended by his new father-in-law, Ercole d'Este. The first attempt for a revival was in the fall of 1490 at Francesco's country palace at Marmirolo, and the second was to be performed in June 1491. Letters between Francesco and others describe the preparations undertaken at Marmirolo in advance of the production.[110] In the end, however, it seems neither production occurred: in the first instance, the actor who was to play Orpheus did not reach Mantua in time, and on the second occasion there proved to be insufficient time to prepare in advance of the arrival of Ercole d'Este.[111]

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[108] Pirrotta and Povoledo, *Music and Theatre*, 283-284.
[109] Pirrotta and Povoledo, *Music and Theatre*, 44.
[110] D'Ancona, *Origini del Teatro*, 368 and Bourne, *Francesco II*, 212. For the 1490 production, see Bourne, *Francesco II*, 312-313. Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 2438, c. 333 and c. 334. Reproduced in Bourne, documents 8 and 9. For the 1491 production, see Bourne, *Francesco II*, 322-326. Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 2904, Libro 137, c. 57^{v}, c. 60 and c. 62 and Busta 2440, c. 17, c. 22, and c. 31. Reproduced in Bourne, documents 25-30.
[111] Pirrotta and Povoledo, *Music and Theatre*, 289.

Though Francesco may have been unsuccessful in this particular instance, over the course of his 35-year reign he promoted the production of a number of dramatic performances. The revival of ancient theater may have had its roots in Ferrara, but it truly flourished in Mantua under the patronage of Francesco and Isabella. The main theatrical productions in Mantua, as was true in neighboring Ferrara, were ancient comedies, particularly those by Plautus and Terence, along with vernacular translations and contemporary imitations of those works.

Much of the lively court culture found in Mantua starting in the 1490s can be attributed to Isabella d'Este. Isabella, daughter of Ercole d'Este (an enthusiastic promoter of the theater), was born in Ferrara in 1474 and grew up amongst a vibrant court culture. There she had exposure to an extensive library, with classical and contemporary texts in Latin and the vernacular. By age 15, she was reading Terence, Virgil, and Cicero.[112] When she married Francesco Gonzaga in 1490, she brought her passion for theater and general knowledge with her to Mantua.[113] Isabella continued her studies in Mantua, eventually under the tutelage of Mario Equicola, and was praised by contemporaries for her taste in literature and the arts.[114] She kept records of spectacular court events, and sent accounts of them to her acquaintances, while additionally gathering information about rituals in other cities, so that those in Mantua would be up to date.[115]

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[112] Jennifer A. Cavalli, "The Learned Consort: Learning, Piety, and Female Political Authority in Northern Courts," in *After Civic Humanism: Learning and Politics in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Nicholas Scott Baker and Brian Jeffrey Maxson (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2015), 179 and Kristeller, *Mantegna* (English), 285.
[113] Simon, *Renaissance Tapestry*, 211.
[114] Cavalli, "Learned Consort," 180.
[115] Cashman III, "Public Life," 90 and 262.

Isabella worked hard to acquire the most popular comedies of the day: in a letter from March 1498, she wrote to an acquaintance, requesting copies of comedies by Plautus, particularly the *Menaechmi* and *Amphitrione*.[116] A few years later, in December 1503, she wrote to Lodovico Gonzaga, bishop-elect of Mantua, inquiring about his copies of two other comedies by Plautus, *Curculio* and *Aulularia*.[117]

Like his wife, Francesco, too, seems to have had an interest in drama. He was present in the audience for the first production of Plautus's *Menaechmi* since antiquity, held in Ferrara in January 1486.[118] Shortly after his marriage, as we have just seen, he attempted to revive *L'Orfeo*. Over the course of his rule, Francesco succeeded in organizing a number of theatrical performances in Mantua. Plays were staged in the towns of Marmirolo and Gonzaga in 1494. The *Captivi* was performed in summer 1496—the first production of a comedy by Plautus at the Gonzaga court.[119] In 1497, an unknown play was performed in an outdoor courtyard at the Castello, decorated with the *Triumphs of Caesar*. By the end of the Quattrocento, Francesco was increasingly staging these performances in Mantua itself, instead of at his country residences, typically during Carnival season. Before he built San Sebastiano, Francesco organized dramas in the courtyard of the Castello di San Giorgio or in the great hall on the *piano nobile* of the Palazzo della Ragione.[120]

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[116] Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 2992, Libro 9, c. 34[r]. Translated in Shemek, document 162.
[117] Shemek, *Isabella*, 243-244.
[118] Bourne, *Francesco II*, 211-212.
[119] D'Ancona, *Origini del Teatro*, 368 and Bourne, *Francesco II*, 212.
[120] Bourne, *Francesco II*, 212-213.

As mentioned at the start of this chapter, in 1501 Francesco had a temporary theater constructed to allow for performances during Carnival. It is unclear where these productions occurred, possibly in the courtyard of the Castello, or in an interior location.[121] Three classical plays were staged—*Penulo* by Plautus, Seneca's *Ippolito*, and the *Adelphi* by Terence—along with one new work, called *Philonico*. The description provided in Cantelmo's letter can be rather confusing, though the basic shape and decoration of the space are discernable.[122] The room was quadrangular, with arches around all four sides (two short sides with six arches, and two long sides with eight). On one of these long sides, six of the eight arches were hung with the *Triumphs of Caesar*. The stage was in the corner, with tiered seating nearby. The stage was likely raised, with the *Triumphs of Petrarch* displayed on the front. On the stage was a grotto set, along with columns to the side. In the grotto was the seated figure of Fortune, with her wheel. There was a sky above, with a mechanical wheel with the signs of the Zodiac and other celestial bodies. The hall was lit by lamps, some hanging from the arches, others used to illuminate the stage.[123] Other decorations included tapestries, coats of arms and emblems, and possibly antique statues.[124]

An exchange of correspondence in late 1506 is particularly enlightening as to how performance spaces were decorated. In a letter to Francesco Vigilio, dated December 30, 1506, Francesco ordered that an Italian comedy, by Publio Filippo Mantovano,

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[121] Bourne, *Francesco II*, 213.
[122] See page 154, note 90, above for a translation of the letter.
[123] Elena Povoledo provides a very thorough analysis of Cantelmo's letter, and attempts to reconstruct the space. The description provided here is based primarily on her conclusions. Pirrotta and Povoledo, *Music and Theatre*, 313-314 and note 6.
[124] Law, *Mantegna's Triumph*, 30 and Kernodle, *From Art to Theatre*, 188-189.

Formicone, be performed the next week for two visiting cardinals.[125] Vigilio responded the next day, informing the marquis on the theatrical preparations at the Palazzo della Ragione. Vigilio asked Francesco how he would like the "sky" to be created, and if he desired the *Triumphs* at Gonzaga and Marmirolo—two small neighboring towns—to be brought into Mantua for the production.[126] Francesco replied the same day, and instructed Vigilio to not move the set of *Triumphs* from Marmirolo, as instead Francesco would send those at Gonzaga to Mantua for the play.[127]

VI. Processions in Mantua

Turning now to triumphal processions in Mantua, these entrances of visiting dignitaries were also times of great ceremony and festivity. The entrance of Pope Pius II in 1459 was an important moment for the city. The pope sailed up the Po from Ferrara in May of that year, and Lodovico sailed down to meet him. The pope then changed boats, to much fanfare with trumpets playing and banners waving, and spent the night outside the city in order to make a grand entrance the next day (May 27). The entrance into the city included a range of figures, such as officials of the papal court, local Mantuan clergy, ambassadors from other states, and cardinals, along with twelve white horses, banners with papal symbols, and a golden tabernacle under a silk canopy. Lodovico Gonzaga and

[125] Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 2914, Libro 195, c. 54. Reproduced in Bourne, document 232. Vigilio was tutor to the Gonzaga children.
[126] Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 2470, f. 474^{v}. Reproduced in Martindale, document 20 (where it is listed as 1507) and Bourne, document 233.
[127] Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 2914, Libro 195, f. 56^{v}. Reproduced in Martindale, document 21 (listed as 1507) and Bourne, document 234. The set at Marmirolo may be the *Triumphs of Alexander*. The other set was likely the *Triumphs of Petrarch*, as discussed above.

Galeazzo Sforza entered together, followed by the cardinals and then Pius II himself. The procession paused at the gate for Lodovico to symbolically present Pius with the keys to the city, then continued into Mantua. The streets had been laid with carpets, and buildings along the route were decorated with tapestries and flowers. The parade stopped at the Cathedral of St. Peter for prayers, then continued on to the Palazzo Ducale, watched by spectators the whole way.[128]

Another grand entrance was that of Isabella d'Este upon her marriage to Marquis Francesco Gonzaga in 1490. The Gonzaga timed the marriage to occur during Carnival, suggesting that the union would bring the bounty and happiness associated with that season. She arrived in the city in February by boat, and followed the same route later taken by Emperor Charles V (and likely the same route taken by Pius II).[129] Francesco met her at the Porta Pradella, and Isabella rode through the streets of Mantua—decorated with tapestries and flowers—in a triumphal cart, finally arriving at the Castello.[130] Along the route, representations of the seven planets were displayed at key locations, and at each of these sites young boys, dressed as angels, recited poetry while music played. The heavenly symbolism suggested the harmony of the alliance between the Gonzaga and Este families, while the young boys represented fertility. In fact, the specific date of Isabella's entrance, February 16, was selected for its astrological significance. The wedding occasioned a number of spectacles over the course of eight days of celebrating,

[128] Cashman III, "Public Life," 253-255 and 257-258. The later entrances of Emperor Charles V in 1530 and 1532 followed a similar procedure, but on a grander scale. For example, temporary triumphal arches were constructed for the procession to pass under.
[129] Cashman III, "Public Life," 259-261 and Selwyn Brinton, *The Gonzaga—Lords of Mantua* (London: Methuen & Co., 1927), 104.
[130] Manca, *Mantegna*, 127 and Brinton, *Gonzaga*, 104.

such as three days of jousting, numerous dances, and stupendous sugar sculptures.[131] The *Triumphs of Caesar* would have made a fitting addition to the many tapestries and banners used to line the parade route and decorate various rooms of the palace.

A final series of celebrations to be discussed, for which the *Triumphs of Caesar* would have also made a fitting backdrop, were those associated with Francesco's victory at the Battle of Fornovo. The Battle of Fornovo in the Italian Wars occurred on July 6, 1495, near Parma at the river Taro. Though both sides—the French and the League of Venice—could claim a type of victory, the event was particularly helpful for elevating Francesco's standing, as he hitherto had not had any great military achievements. Though the Italians suffered heavier losses than the French, in the days and weeks after the fighting, Francesco and others wrote letters about how valiantly their side had fought under the marquis's brave leadership. Friends of the Gonzaga compared his victory to those of Julius Caesar and Alexander the Great. Francesco was awarded the title of Captain General by Venice in July, and was immediately sent to eliminate the remaining French armies in Italy. From July to September of 1495, Francesco was fighting at Novara, and returned to Mantua in early November.[132]

Both before and after the battle, ceremonies and processions were held in the city. Beforehand, the clergy walked between various churches, saying masses. Afterwards, there were state funerals for Francesco's uncle Rodolfo and cousin Giovanmaria, killed in battle, in addition to the celebrations and victory fireworks to impress the populace.[133] At

[131] Cashman III, "Public Life," 259-261 and 260, note 18.
[132] Bourne, *Francesco II*, 39 and 67-69.
[133] Cashman III, "Public Life," 276-277. Francesco himself was involved in the planning of these events, though he was not able to participate in person.

the end of July, a magnificent celebration was held when Francesco was named *capitano generale* of the Venetian army (though the marquis was not present in Mantua at the time). On the order of Isabella, there were three days of celebrations to mark the occasion.[134] Francesco triumphantly returned to Mantua on November 1, with a squadron of warriors.[135]

To celebrate and commemorate Francesco's victories, the small church Santa Maria della Vittoria (figure 3.6) was built in Mantua, and decorated with an altarpiece by Mantegna, the *Madonna della Vittoria* (figure 2.12). While home for four months from November 1495 through February 1496, Francesco likely oversaw work being done on the Vittoria project, and also participated in the Carnival season.[136]

On the one-year anniversary of the battle, July 6, 1496, celebrations were held in Mantua to mark the consecration of the church of Santa Maria della Vittoria. Francesco was away at the time, encamped at Atella, near Potenza in southern Italy.[137] His brother, Sigismondo, and Isabella both wrote to him about the festivities.[138] The *Madonna della Vittoria* by Mantegna was initially displayed in the church of San Sebastiano (figure 3.7), as part of a religious tableau with costumed actors portraying prophets and the twelve apostles. The painting was then paraded through the streets (decorated for the occasion),

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[134] Cashman III, "Public Life," 278 and Bourne, *Francesco II*, 71.
[135] Brinton, *Gonzaga*, 104 and David S. Chambers, "Francesco II Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua, 'Liberator of Italy'," in *The French Descent into Renaissance Italy 1494-95: Antecedents and Effects*, ed. David Abulafia (Aldershot, Hampshire: Variorum, 1995), 227.
[136] Bourne, *Francesco II*, 72-82. The history of the creation of this church is more complicated than simply being a victory monument, and has ties to an anti-Semitic incident in Mantua happening at the same time.
[137] Bourne, *Francesco II*, 39 and 82. Francesco was away fighting in the south of Italy from February to November, 1496.
[138] Bourne, *Francesco II*, 82-83 and 380-384. Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 2111, c. 385. Reproduced in Bourne, document 118. Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 2111, cc. 266-267. Reproduced in Bourne, document 122.

displayed on a tribunal carried by twenty men, until it reached its new home of Santa Maria della Vittoria.[139] Isabella, watching from a house due to her pregnancy, wrote in a letter that "more people came than I have ever seen at any procession in this city" and that "the canopied street was filled with people."[140] The ritual as a whole glorified Francesco's military victory and reaffirmed his status at home, uniting his people behind him.[141] Francesco finally returned to Mantua in November 1496, ill with various diseases, but widely respected for his military successes.[142] Though as grand a ritual as that initial celebration was never again held, future events commemorating Fornovo were held annually on July 2 at Santa Maria della Vittoria, to coincide with the Feast of the Visitation.[143] For any of these various celebrations associated with Francesco's victory at Fornovo, the *Triumphs of Caesar* would have proved to be an impressive backdrop, driving home the message of the marquis as a grand military leader, in the manner of Julius Caesar.

VII. The Specific Function of the *Triumphs* in Theater and Processions

Having now established the types and circumstances of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century theatrical performances and triumphal processions in Italy as a whole, and Mantua in particular, we can turn to the question of how specifically Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar* may have functioned in connection to these events. Starting with

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[139] Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 180 and Bourne, *Francesco II*, 82.
[140] Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 2992, Libro 7, ff. 66^{v}-67^{v}. Translated in Shemek, document 125.
[141] Cashman III, "Public Life," 277-290.
[142] Bourne, *Francesco II*, 39 and Bourne, "Patronage of Francesco," 110.
[143] Bourne, *Francesco II*, 84.

theater, we know illusionistic stage sets, with street scenes in perspective, did not come into use until the sixteenth century, after the three known instances—1497, 1501, and 1507—of the *Triumphs* being used in a theatrical context. Permanent theaters in Italy were not developed until even later in the sixteenth century. During the time of Mantegna, and throughout the rule of Francesco, theatrical performances were staged within palaces or their courtyards, in temporary spaces decorated for the occasion.

Many artists and architects were involved in the design of theatrical stage sets, including Bramante, Peruzzi, and Vignola. Leonardo da Vinci designed theatrical costumes and ornaments for the Sforza of Milan, Giulio Romano did similar work for the Gonzaga in Mantua (designing costumes for a court production in 1542), as did Giorgio Vasari in Florence.[144] Court artists, such as Mantegna, were called upon by their patrons to create scenery for plays. Most perspective stage sets were created by artists who had training (and functioned primarily) as a painter or architect, rather than by someone with a specific background in theater.[145]

As a court artist, Mantegna was responsible for designing a variety of items, from tableware to wall-hangings to temporary decorations. Mantegna likely produced many works of art intended primarily for decorative means, but none survive.[146] A decree from 1492 thanks Mantegna for his "contributions to court life," suggesting he may have

[144] Simon, *Renaissance Tapestry*, 211 and Barbara Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque: Dance, Costume, and Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 29.
[145] Campbell, *Scenes and Machines*, 15 and Kernodle, *From Art to Theatre*, 5.
[146] Molly Bourne, "The Art of Diplomacy: Mantua and the Gonzaga, 1328-1630," in *The Court Cities of Northern Italy: Milan, Parma, Piacenza, Mantua, Ferrara, Bologna, Urbino, Pesaro, and Rimini*, ed. Charles M. Rosenberg (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 158 and Kristeller, *Mantegna* (English), 272.

produced decorations for banquets, dances, and the like.[147] As I argued in chapter two, I do not think the *Triumphs of Caesar* was intended at the start to function as backdrops for special occasions; I believe it was commissioned by Federico Gonzaga to be permanently installed in his new Domus Nova. After the marquis's sudden death, and the halt of work on his new palace, Francesco took advantage of the *Triumphs*' mobility. The visual structure of the painting supports this conclusion: the *Triumphs* has a coherent layout in a long sequence, unlike other stage designs, and though this allows it to be adaptable for performances (that is, using a few canvases at a time for a theatrical backdrop), it nevertheless suggests this was not its original intended function.[148]

The *Triumphs of Caesar*, during the rule of Francesco, seems to have been used in connection to the staging of comedies.[149] In 1497, it was used as decoration for a temporary theater erected in an outdoor courtyard of the Palazzo Ducale. The canvases may have functioned as a backdrop, or simply hung on the walls of the space where the drama was being performed—as seems to have been the case in 1501. In that year, six of the canvases were displayed on the wall of a temporary theater, alongside Mantegna's *Triumphs of Petrarch*, which adorned the front of the stage itself.[150] The occasion was

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[147] Christopher Lloyd, "Alive and Breathing," *Country Life* Vol. CLXXXIX, No. 47 (November 23, 1995): 47. Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Libro dei decreti No. 24, f. 56^{v} et seq. Reproduced in Kristeller (German), document 115 and Martindale, document 5.

[148] The recent exhibition "Mantegna & Bellini" at the National Gallery in London allowed for a unique opportunity to view only a few canvases, out of sequence. In the exhibition, canvas II, IV, and V were displayed in a row, as if a continuous set—but without canvas III. However, unless one looked closely, the gap was not noticeable: as all three featured figures walking in the same direction, of the same scale, etc., the processional effect was still very much present. This suggests, then, that even when only a portion of the canvases were used for backdrops, and even if they were not displayed in order, the *Triumphs* would still have made an impressive and effective backdrop.

[149] Kristeller, *Mantegna* (English), 285-286.

[150] Bourne, *Francesco II*, 213 and Clifford M. Brown, "I *Trionfi* di Petrarca di Andrea Mantegna, tra certezee e ipotesi," in *A casa di Andrea Mantegna: Cultura artistica a Mantova nel Quattrocento*, ed.

the performance of four plays—by Terence, Plautus, and Seneca, along with a modern work—put on by Francesco for the Carnival celebrations in February.[151] Mantegna's series, with its classical subject, would have created an appropriate atmosphere for the production of ancient dramas.[152] (However, there is no evidence that Mantegna was actually involved in the staging of the productions.)[153] The painting functioned in a similar way again in 1507. Any number of other plays staged in Mantua in the 1490s and 1500s might have utilized the *Triumphs of Caesar* for decoration.[154]

The *Triumphs* could have functioned in a manner similar to tapestries. It was common throughout the Medieval and Renaissance eras for tapestries to serve as a form of temporary decoration: as mobile objects, unlike frescoes, they could be brought out and rotated to alter a room's decoration to suit the occasion, such as the arrival of an important dignitary or a wedding feast.[155] A series could be broken up and arranged in different ways to fit a specific room. A letter from Isabella to the Duchess of Urbino from February 1507 reveals that tapestries were used as backdrops for comedies in Mantua. Isabella wrote to the Duchess that she was unable to lend her their tapestries, as "all of them [were] being used for the comedies my most illustrious lord consort is

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Rodolfo Signorini (Milan: Silvana Editoriale Spa, 2006), 283. A letter from Francesco, dated February 12, 1501, requests that beds, hangings, and carpets be moved from Marmirolo and Gonzaga to Mantua for Carnival season. It was likely due to this order that the *Triumphs of Petrarch* were transferred to Mantua, and subsequently used as part of the theatrical decorations. Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 2910, Libro 168, c. 52. Reproduced in Bourne, document 157.

[151] Bourne, *Francesco II*, 213 and Brown, "*Trionfi* di Petrarca," 283.

[152] Law, *Mantegna's Triumph*, 31.

[153] Pirrotta and Povoledo, *Music and Theatre*, 315.

[154] See D'Ancona, *Origini del Teatro*, Appendice II: "Il teatro Mantovano nel secolo XVI," for more on productions in Mantua.

[155] Evelyn Welch, "Painting in the Quattrocento Palace," in *Mantegna and 15th-Century Court Culture*, ed. Francis Ames-Lewis and Anka Bednarek (London: University of London, 1993), 88.

putting on."[156] As a work on canvas, the *Triumphs* had the potential to function in a similar manner, and in particular due to its subject matter, was ideally suited for the production of classical plays.[157]

Triumphal entries and processions through a city, as detailed previously, frequently featured dramatic elements, such as the staging of short performances or recitation of poetry, along the route. Triumphs came to be associated with drama, pageantry, and theater. Thus, Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar* would have been seen as an appropriate form of decoration for a hall or space in which theatrical productions were held, visually connecting the performances to actual triumphs held in the city.[158]

Another possibility is that the *Triumphs* was utilized for the *intermezzi*, the mini performances held between the acts of a play. These spectacular shows often featured classical or mythological themes, along with elaborate sets, costumes, and props. The set changes had to occur quickly as the many-hour production alternated back-and-forth between the *intermezzi* and the drama itself. One can imagine the lightweight *Triumphs*, perhaps suspended on a wooden frame and mounted on a wheeled cart (a method used for a production in Bologna in 1487), utilized in such a way.[159]

The *Triumphs of Caesar* may have also functioned as decorations for triumphal entries. Along the processional route, houses, temporary arches, and other structures were draped with banners and tapestries, or decorated with paintings and sculptures.

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[156] Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 2994, Libro 20, cc. 16^{v}-17^{r}. Translated in Shemek, document 389.
[157] Eva Dawn Allan, "The Triumph Theme and Variations in Long Renaissance Prints" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2014), 56.
[158] This was first noted by Kristeller, who was one of the earliest (and only) authors to seriously consider the role of the *Triumphs* as decorative backdrops. See Kristeller, *Mantegna* (English), 287.
[159] Nicoll, *Development*, 71.

Again, its light weight and easy mobility made the *Triumphs* ideally suited for such a purpose. Its imagery—that of an ancient Roman triumph—would have made the series particularly appropriate for the arrival of a visiting leader or the return of a military victor.

From correspondence between Mantegna and Francesco while the former was in Rome working for the pope, we learn the high value both artist and ruler afforded the painting. Mantegna wrote to Francesco in January 1489, to ensure that his painting was being well looked after.[160] It seems the marquis was eager for the painting to be completed, perhaps because he had a particular use to which he wanted to put it, such as his upcoming nuptials.[161] In his reply from February of that year, Francesco reassured Mantegna that the canvases were being taken care of and that "we very much want to see them finished."[162]

Mantegna did not return to Mantua until September 1490, after Isabella and Francesco's wedding festivities.[163] It is possible that the marquis took advantage of the protective artist's absence to use the canvases, perhaps for the first time, in a manner that had never been intended by their original patron, Francesco's father Federico.[164] As

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[160] Hope, "Chronology," 298; Cashman III, "Public Life," 260, note 18; and Lightbown, "Mantegna," 148. Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Serie Autografi, Casetta No 7, f. 121^{r}. Reproduced in Kristeller (German), document 102 and Martindale, document 2.

[161] The engagement between Francesco and Isabella had occurred a decade earlier, in 1480. Musacchio, "Wives," 32.

[162] Keith Christiansen, "The Genius of Andrea Mantegna," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, New Series, Vol. 67, No. 2 (Fall 2009): 7 and Hope, "Chronology," 298. Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 2903, Libro 133, f. 11^{r}. Reproduced in Kristeller (German), document 103 and Martindale, document 3.

[163] Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 148.

[164] In fact, in December 1489, a few months prior to his marriage, Francesco wrote to Mantegna, asking him to return from Rome, as the marquis wanted the artist's assistance in creating certain aspects of the wedding celebrations. Mantegna replied January 1, 1490, stating that he would not be able to attend the wedding, as he was too ill to travel. Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Copialettere, Libro 133 and Collezione

detailed above, Isabella's arrival in Mantua in February 1490 for her wedding was an elaborate affair, with many days of celebrations. The *Triumphs* certainly would have made an impressive backdrop to the wedding procession or for the theatrical productions and banquets staged in Isabella's honor. Some of the specific decorations used for Isabella and Francesco's wedding are known: at Francesco's request, for example, the Montefeltro loaned the Gonzaga their celebrated Troy tapestries, which were displayed in the Palazzo Ducale for a feast at Isabella's arrival.[165] With a similarly classical theme, the *Triumphs of Caesar* would have made a nice complement to the Troy tapestries.

Another event for which the *Triumphs* would have been well-suited were the celebrations held in Mantua after Francesco's triumphant victory over the French at the Battle of Fornovo in July 1495. In this instance, the subject of the painting almost perfectly matched the historical occurrence: in both, great military leaders (Julius Caesar and Francesco Gonzaga) triumphantly defeat their French enemies and return home victorious. As was explored in chapter one, the specific triumph depicted in Mantegna's series is not entirely clear, though certain inscriptions do indicate that it shows Caesar's Gallic triumph. It has been posited that these details were only added after the Battle of Fornovo, to draw an even greater connection between the series and Francesco's

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Autografi, Busta 7, c. 125^{r-v}. See Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 434. Waterhouse writes that while Mantegna was in Rome, Francesco "discovered how magnificent a background the pictures made for the decoration of the theatre for the revivals of classical plays," but provides no evidence of the *Triumphs* having been used in such a way during that time, or any specifics. See Waterhouse, Baker, and Macintyre, "Mantegna's Cartoons," 103.

[165] Clifford M. Brown, with Anna Maria Lorenzoni, "Collecting Greco-Roman Art in Mantua in the Age of Federico I Gonzaga and the Documentation for the Date of Isabella d'Este's Move to the Corte Vecchia," in *Quaderni di Palazzo Te*, ed. Renzo Zorzi (Milan: Electa, 1996), 19 and Bertelli, Cardini, and Zorzi, *Italian*, 142.

victory.[166] One can imagine the painting displayed for the festivities held when Francesco was named *capitano generale*, or when the marquis finally returned to Mantua in November 1495, making a clear political statement by drawing a connection between Julius Caesar and Francesco.

To celebrate the first anniversary of the Battle of Fornovo in July 1496, another grand procession was held in Mantua, in which Mantegna's recently completed *Madonna della Vittoria* was paraded through the streets to the church of Santa Maria della Vittoria.[167] Here again, the *Triumphs of Caesar* may have been hung along the parade route to serve as further decoration and remind the people of Mantua of Francesco's successes as a *condottiero*. We cannot know for certain if the canvases were ever used in this way, but from their documented use as backdrops for theater, we know that Francesco was comfortable moving the paintings around and displaying them in different venues to suite his needs. As the painting was not permanently installed in San Sebastiano until the early sixteenth century, it seems logical to conclude that during the approximately two decades prior, the painting may have been used as backdrops on more than just the three documented occasions. Once Francesco and others realized the

[166] The two known potential preparatory drawings associated with the series neither wholly confirm nor deny this theory. A drawing of canvas I at the Musée du Louvre—considered by some, but not all, scholars to be an autograph preparatory work—includes the words "Galia" on banners in the upper left. If this drawing was created earlier on in the process, this would seem to suggest that from the start Mantegna planned for the series to depict Caesar's Gallic triumph. However, the recently discovered drawing associated with canvas II, exhibited as part of "Mantegna & Bellini" at the National Gallery, does not include the clear inscription about "Galliam" found in the corresponding painting. As the curators of the National Gallery show do believe the drawing to be an autograph preparatory work, this would suggest that Mantegna elected to include the allusion to Gaul at a later date, perhaps after Francesco's military victory.

[167] This event is described in a letter by Sigismondo Gonzaga to his brother Francesco, who was encamped away from Mantua (at Atella, near Potenza). Isabella also described the procession in a letter to her husband from July 10 (for citations, see page 166 and 167, note 138 and 140, above). Eventually this annual celebration was shifted to July 2, to align with the Feast of the Visitation. Bourne, *Francesco II*, 84.

dramatic potential of the painting, perhaps as early as 1490, the *Triumphs* could have been used at any number of events. Theatrical and processional decorations were often neglected and considered disposable; though Mantegna may have objected to the *Triumphs*' use in such a way, as a court artist whose livelihood depended on his Gonzaga patrons, he would have had little say in how his painting was utilized. Perhaps the reason Mantegna left the series incomplete—as detailed in earlier chapters, he designed a tenth canvas and possibly had plans for even more scenes—was due to the *Triumphs* consistently being used in a manner that the artist had never intended.[168]

VIII. The *Triumphs of Caesar* at Palazzo San Sebastiano

The first document stating that the *Triumphs of Caesar* had been permanently installed in the Palazzo San Sebastiano dates from 1512.[169] It seems likely, however, that the painting was already housed there by late 1507.[170] As was outlined in chapter two, San Sebastiano was constructed for Francesco by Gerolamo Arcari between 1506 and 1508.[171] Correspondence indicates that as early as November 1506, work had begun on the Sala dei Trionfi.[172] The *Triumphs* was displayed in a long hall (figure 2.18) overlooking the garden on the *piano nobile*, with the paintings separated by pilasters.[173] Eventually the series was accompanied by two works by Lorenzo Costa.

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[168] Waterhouse, Baker, and Macintyre, "Mantegna's Cartoons," 104.
[169] Cerati, *Trionfi*, 12. Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 2920, Libra 225, f. 36. Reproduced in Martindale, document 22A and Bourne, document 316.
[170] Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 149 and Lloyd, *Mantegna*, 19.
[171] Cerati, *Trionfi*, 49.
[172] Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 2469, c. 688^{v}. Reproduced in Bourne, document 230.
[173] Allison Cole, *Italian Renaissance Courts: Art, Pleasure and Power* (London: Lawrence King Publishing, 2016), 187.

Francesco used San Sebastiano as a place for entertainment. Though the Palazzo Ducale remained the official site of business, San Sebastiano took on an important role as a court palace. After Francesco's return from imprisonment in Venice in 1510, a number of dramas were performed there. During Carnival season, classical comedies in the vernacular were frequently performed at San Sebastiano, under the garden loggia (figure 2.17), which measured 26 by 7 meters.[174] The palace was also a site for feasts and diplomatic receptions. In a letter from September 1511, Francesco requested that the loggia be fitted with canvas, as the weather was becoming cooler—suggesting that the marquis was intending to use the space.[175] A few months later, in February 1512, we learn from the court *segretario*, Amico Maria della Torre, that Francesco recently produced a comedy under the loggia in San Sebastiano.[176] In July of that year, there were festivities at the palace to celebrate the second anniversary of Francesco's release from prison in Venice.[177] A year later, in February 1513, Terence's *Andria* was staged under the loggia. Isabella was away at the time, and Francesco was eager for her to return so she could see the play—in fact, he left the stage in place so the production could be repeated.[178]

The room where the *Triumphs* was displayed was used for important banquets, to honor distinguished guests. For example, during the Imperial Diet of Mantua held in

[174] Bourne, *Francesco II*, 210 and 216.
[175] Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 2918, Libro 218, c. 2^{v}. Reproduced in Bourne, document 303.
[176] Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 2485, c. 38. Reproduced in Bourne, document 306.
[177] Bourne, *Francesco II*, 211. Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 2485, c. 55. Reproduced in Bourne, document 307.
[178] Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 2487, c. 59^{r-v}. Reproduced in Bourne, document 321.

August 1512, guests were favorably impressed by the Sala dei Trionfi.[179] The most extravagant banquet held in the Sala dei Trionfi was the *solemne cena* on November 12, 1512, celebrating the return of Massimiliano Sforza as the Duke of Milan.[180] Various written accounts of guests to San Sebastiano in the early sixteenth century all express admiration for the *Triumphs*.[181] It is clear that during Francesco's lifetime, the *Triumphs* remained a prized object, shown off to visitors to great effect.

Francesco spent a great deal of time at San Sebastiano, especially towards the end of his life, as his health deteriorated. After his death in 1519, the palace was used much less frequently—Francesco's son and successor, Federico II, built his own pleasure palace, the Palazzo Te, a short distance away. With Federico II favoring his new palace, San Sebastiano was seemingly abandoned from 1536, with its furnishings transferred elsewhere.[182]

Theater did continue to flourish in Mantua under Federico II and throughout the sixteenth century, with many actors and musicians travelling to the city to perform, particularly after the devolution of Ferrara in the late sixteenth century.[183] For example, shortly after becoming marquis, Federico II staged a production of *La Calandria* by

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[179] Cerati, *Trionfi*, 71 and Bourne, *Francesco II*, 217.
[180] Bourne, *Francesco II*, 218.
[181] Giovanni Agosti, *Su Mantegna I* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 2005), 199-200. See, for example, the report of the Spanish viceroy of Naples, Ramón Folch de Cardona, who visited in August 1512, during the Imperial Diet of Mantua. Bourne, *Francesco II*, 500-501. In a letter from January 1513, it is reported that the Bishop of Nice, Girolamo Arsago, was impressed by the painting. Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 861, c. 336^{r-v}. Reproduced in Bourne, document 320. Four Venetian ambassadors who visited in fall 1515 were given a tour that included the painting. Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Busta 2491, cc. 18-19^{v}. Reproduced in Bourne, document 350.
[182] Bourne, *Francesco II*, 209 and Cerati, *Trionfi*, 69-72.
[183] Anne MacNeil, "The nature of commitment: Vincenzo Gonzaga's patronage strategies in the wake of the fall of Ferrara," *Renaissance Studies* Vol. 16, No. 3 (September 2002): 392.

Cardinal Bernardo Bibbiena in 1520.[184] We know that in the 1540s, Giulio Romano was tasked with designing theater sets in Mantua.[185] Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, Francesco's second son, built the first permanent theater in Mantua, located next to the Palazzo Ducale, between 1549 and 1551 (later destroyed by fire between 1588 and 1591).[186] In 1588, Duke Vincenzo I Gonzaga had a theater built in neighboring Sabbioneta, which still stands.[187] By the end of Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga's reign in 1612, Mantua had become a center of music and theater, with pastoral plays inspired by Virgil particularly popular.[188]

However, after Francesco's death and the construction of the Palazzo Te under Federico II, San Sebastiano ceased to be a site of theatrical productions. Even when comedies were staged there during Francesco's reign, those productions occurred in the loggia on the ground floor, whereas the *Triumphs* was located a floor above. The painting did serve as an impressive backdrop for the many banquets held in the Sala dei Trionfi during the last decade or so of Francesco's rule, but there is no record of the canvases functioning as mobile objects and temporary decorations at this time.

The seeming neglect of the painting after the death of Francesco raises the question of whether or not the *Triumphs* was ever removed from its home in San Sebastiano and used for ephemeral purposes. There is evidence to suggest that for much of the late sixteenth century, not all nine canvases were on display in the Sala dei Trionfi.

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[184] Cashman III, "Public Life," 128.
[185] Ravelhofer, *Stuart Masque*, 29.
[186] Bourne, *Francesco II*, 217.
[187] Licisco Magagnato, *Il Teatro Italiano del Cinquecento* (Mantua: Palazzo Ducale, 1980), 16.
[188] MacNeil, "Vincenzo Gonzaga," 392.

Starting in the late 1540s and continuing through to the end of the century, a number of traveler accounts specify that only seven canvases were on view. In the late 1540s or 1550, while visiting Mantua, Leandro Alberti wrote that he saw seven paintings. The same is true for Bernardo Scardeone, who travelled to the city sometime in the 1550s. Over the following decades, three different visitors—Ulisse Aldrovandi (sometime before 1580), Raffaello Toscano (in 1587), and Lorenz Schrader (in 1592)—state they only saw seven paintings. This last account, that of Lorenz Schrader, specifically mentions canvases II, IV, VII, and IX, but gives no indication as to which other three were visible.[189]

The fact that not all nine canvases were on display supports the broad conclusions of this chapter, namely, that the *Triumphs of Caesar* was treated, under Francesco and seemingly also in later decades, as an object to decorate ephemeral events, to be used in various situations as needed. Even after a home was created particularly for the painting's display, it seems that at least two of the canvases were still taken down—for what purpose, we can only speculate. We cannot know whether the various visitors to San Sebastiano in the late sixteenth century all saw the same seven canvases, or if the series was somehow rotated. It does raise the question of whether the painting continued to be used for ephemeral events throughout the course of the century, until it was moved and installed in the Palazzo Ducale in the early seventeenth century.

[189] Caroline Karpinski, "Mantegna's *Triumphs* in Andreani's Form," *Apollo* Vol. 153, No. 472 (June 2001): 42.

One later occasion for which the *Triumphs* would have been well-suited was the grand entrance of Emperor Charles V into Mantua in 1530, or his return to the city in 1532. This parade had many antique-inspired elements, including triumphal arches designed by Giulio Romano.[190] The streets were bedecked with garlands and coats of arms. Festivities during the Emperor's visit, which lasted from March 25 to April 19, 1530, included banquets at the Palazzo Te and in the countryside, dancing, music, and hunting.[191] Charles, as Holy Roman Emperor, would likely have appreciated a comparison to Julius Caesar.

As to theater, certainly dramatic performances continued to be staged in Mantua under Federico II and beyond, as has been discussed. As the first permanent theater in Mantua was not built until the middle of the century, there would still be a need for decorations, though as we have seen, backdrops in perspective were coming into favor. However, Federico II had his own court artist, Giulio Romano, and his own personal projects. Possibly the *Triumphs of Caesar* simply remained at San Sebastiano, but two canvases at a time occasionally rotated to different rooms. Perhaps two canvases were removed for the arrival of Charles V in 1530 or 1532, and then subsequently displayed elsewhere. One can only speculate, but the fact that five different visitors over the second half of the seventeenth century report having seen only seven paintings clearly suggests that in some way the canvases were still mobile—or, at minimum, not being displayed as a complete, cohesive unit.

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[190] Starn, *Arts of Power*, 152-153 and Simon, *Renaissance Tapestry*, 216.
[191] For more on the entry of Charles V, see M. J. Rodríguez-Saldago, "Terracotta and Iron: Mantuan Politics (ca. 1450-ca. 1550)," in *The Court of the Gonzaga in the Age of Mantegna: 1450-1550*, ed. Cesare Mozzarelli, Robert Oresko, and Leandro Ventura (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1997).

Eventually, as was detailed in chapter two, the painting was moved to a specially-prepared room in the Palazzo Ducale by Duke Vincenzo I in the early seventeenth century.[192] By 1609 it was installed in the Galleria della Mostra (figure 2.20), a long hallway filled with paintings and classical sculptures.[193] An inventory from January 1627 indicates that the *Triumphs* was still in that space.[194] The Galleria della Mostra was an exhibition space, and included works by Titian, Giulio Romano, Dosso Dossi, and Caravaggio. It seems unlikely that in its new home the *Triumphs* functioned as a backdrop for any type of spectacle. The series was not to remain there long, in any case: by 1630, the *Triumphs of Caesar* had been purchased by King Charles I and had arrived in England, as shall be explored in the next chapter.

IX. Conclusion

I believe the *Triumphs of Caesar* was never intended by its original patron, Federico Gonzaga, to function as a temporary backdrop for ephemeral events. In my theory, Federico commissioned the series to serve as a grand decoration for his new palace, the Domus Nova. The painting was well cared for, confirming that it was not intended from the start to function as a backdrop; temporary theater decorations were

[192] Giovanni Paccagnini, ed., *Andrea Mantegna* (Venice: Neri Pozza Editore, 1961), 45; A. Adami, et al., "The Gonzagas' palace: architecture of time. An interactive application for the discovery of the architectural history of Palazzo Ducale in Mantua," paper presented at the Virtual System and Multimedia 22nd International Conference (Kuala Lumpur, October 17-21, 2016), 2; and Bourne, *Francesco II*, 187.
[193] Bourne, "Art of Diplomacy," 181; Barbara Furlotti and Guido Rebecchini, "'Rare and Unique in this World': Mantegna's 'Triumph' and the Gonzaga Collection," in *Charles I: King and Collector*, ed. Per Rumberg and Desmond Shawe-Taylor (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2018), 54; and Renato Berzaghi, *Il palazzo Ducale di Mantova* (Milan: Electa, 1992), 54.
[194] Paccagnini, *Mantegna*, 45 and Kristeller, *Mantegna* (English), 280.

typically neglected. The series also took many years (possibly decades) to complete, whereas works produced solely to serve as decorative backdrops were executed quickly. The fact that the painting ultimately was used in such a context, and seemingly proved well-suited for that purpose, does not mean that it was created for that end.

After Federico's sudden death, his son and successor Francesco took advantage of the work's mobility, and its being on canvas, to use the *Triumphs* in just such a way. We know for certain that the painting functioned as some sort of backdrop or theater decoration during performances in 1497, 1501, and 1507. However, Francesco became marquis in 1484, and may have begun utilizing the painting earlier in his reign. One intriguing possibility is that the canvases were used for the wedding procession and celebrations at the marriage of Isabella d'Este and Francesco Gonzaga in 1490. For such a grand affair, numerous decorations would have been required, and the *Triumphs* could have functioned as a suitable backdrop, either lining the processional route, or decorating spaces used for feasts and other festivities. The Gonzaga may have used the canvases again for celebrations held after Francesco's military victory against the French at the Battle of Fornovo in 1495. The series, commemorating another great military victory over the French, that of Julius Caesar, would have been a fitting addition to the grand procession of 1496 in which Mantegna's *Madonna della Vittoria* was paraded through the streets.

As to its use in theater, performances at the time were held in large halls or outdoor courtyards. These spaces needed to be decorated especially for the occasion. The *Triumphs of Caesar* would have been well-suited—due both to its subject matter and

portability—for the revival of classical comedies frequent at the time, or for the popular *intermezzi*, which often involved mythological or allegorical elements. Its light weight and mobility would have facilitated its use at various sites around Mantua.

For approximately two decades, I argue, Francesco Gonzaga used the *Triumphs of Caesar* as decorations for a variety of ephemeral events, before finally installing it in a purpose-built room in his new Palazzo San Sebastiano. After Francesco's death, and the neglect of San Sebastiano, the function of the series is less clear; the *Triumphs* does not seem to have had as prominent a role in the late sixteenth century as it did at earlier times. It would take a move to an entirely new country, England, for the *Triumphs of Caesar* to regain its early prestige and significance, as we shall see in the next chapter.

Chapter Four
The Move to England and the Role of the *Triumphs of Caesar* at Hampton Court

This chapter examines the later history of the *Triumphs of Caesar*, starting with its purchase by King Charles I in the early seventeenth century. Upon arrival in England in 1630, the painting was installed in Hampton Court Palace, where the series has remained. For the first two centuries that the *Triumphs* called Hampton Court home, the palace was a functioning residence and the painting thus had a limited audience of the royal family, courtiers, and visiting dignitaries. The role of the *Triumphs of Caesar*, be that political, practical, or purely decorative, within the English royal court during that period is examined in this chapter, exploring how the *Triumphs* functioned for each monarch (and Oliver Cromwell) in turn. I argue that the series held different meanings for different rulers, which can be understood in part by examining where the *Triumphs* was displayed and by studying the overall function and decorative scheme of Hampton Court at various times, along with the political and cultural contexts. The display choices made by the various residents of Hampton Court illuminate the value they placed on the *Triumphs* and the messages they hoped to convey through the series. This chapter focuses primarily on the first century that the *Triumphs* was in England, until 1737, during which Hampton Court Palace was a site of court activity. More briefly explored is the time from 1737, when the palace was less frequently used by the monarchy, until being opened to the public by Queen Victoria in 1838.

I. King Charles I as Collector

Over the course of his life, King Charles I of England amassed a remarkable collection of art, vastly enriching the royal holdings; one of his greatest acquisitions was the *Triumphs of Caesar*. Charles (figure 4.1) became Prince of Wales in 1612 after the sudden death of his elder brother Henry, and inherited the throne in 1625. Charles seemingly first became interested in art and collecting during his visit to Madrid in 1623, where he was exposed to the Spanish royal collection, which featured a number of Italian Renaissance masterpieces, particularly by Venetian artists such as Titian and Veronese. Charles spent eight months in Spain accompanied by George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, attempting to arrange a marriage between himself and the Infanta Maria Anna, which ultimately proved unsuccessful. While in Madrid, with the aid of Buckingham, Charles began purchasing works of art; Buckingham continued to influence the prince's collecting practices when he became king.[1] Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, also helped to shape the young prince's tastes, with Arundel taking on a more influential role after Buckingham's assassination in 1628.[2]

The Stuart kings inherited a rich art collection from the Tudor monarchs, particularly strong in Flemish tapestries, jewelry, and paintings by Hans Holbein and other Northern artists.[3] Charles's older brother, Henry, also collected art. Though

[1] Guido Rebecchini, "Charles I's Visit to Madrid," in *Charles I: King and Collector*, ed. Per Rumberg and Desmond Shawe-Taylor (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2018), 50 and David Souden and Lucy Worsley, *The Story of Hampton Court Palace* (New York: Merrell Publishers Ltd., 2015), 66.
[2] Arthur MacGregor, "King Charles I: A Renaissance Collector?," *The Seventeenth Century* Vol. 11, No. 2 (1996): 143.
[3] Per Rumberg and Desmond Shawe-Taylor, "'The Greatest Amateur of Paintings Among the Princes of the World'," in *Charles I: King and Collector*, ed. Per Rumberg and Desmond Shawe-Taylor (London:

Charles did amass a great collection, was a patron of a number of contemporary artists, and seems in general to have had an interest in fine art, his tastes were not particularly innovative, with his collecting practices mostly in line with general preferences of the time (favoring works of the Italian High Renaissance). Charles relied on connoisseurs and art dealers, such as Inigo Jones, Nicholas Lanier, and Daniel Nijs, to shape his collection. Jones was well travelled and one of the chief art experts at the court, as well as a leading architect. Lanier was sent to Italy in 1625 to purchase works of art; the king trusted Lanier to make the specific selections.[4] Nijs, an art dealer from Flanders who lived in Venice, facilitated the purchase of the Gonzaga collection, including Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar*.

In seventeenth-century England there was a preference among collectors for the work of Italian Renaissance masters and for ancient sculpture. Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (figure 4.2) was one of the first to amass a collection of classical sculptures in England. He and his wife, Aletheia Talbot (figure 4.3), spent time travelling in Italy and had a taste for Italian art. As king, Charles dispatched Hubert Le Sueur to Rome in 1631 to make molds of antique sculptures that could later be cast in bronze.[5] Though Charles never travelled to Italy, he would have been familiar with Renaissance masterpieces through engraved reproductions. Engraved sets of, for example, Mantegna's Ovetari

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Royal Academy of Arts, 2018), 17 and Jane Roberts, ed., *Treasures: The Royal Collection* (London: Royal Collection Publications, 2008), 8.

[4] Jeremy Wood, "Connoisseurship at the Caroline Court," in *Charles I: King and Collector*, ed. Per Rumberg and Desmond Shawe-Taylor (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2018), 30-32 and Jeremy Wood, "Taste and Connoisseurship at the Court of Charles I: Inigo Jones and the Work of Giulio Romano," in *The Stuart Courts*, ed. Eveline Cruickshanks (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 2000), 119.

[5] Rumberg and Shawe-Taylor, "Greatest Amateur," 18 and 24 and Wood, "Caroline Court," 33-34.

frescoes, along with the *Triumphs of Caesar*, were available.[6] However, like most collectors of the time, Charles had little interest in Italian paintings from before the sixteenth century, making the *Triumphs of Caesar* unique in his collection. The interest in Mantegna was likely due to the classical nature of the painter's work, though it is difficult to know, when works of art were purchased *en bloc*—such as in the case of the Gonzaga collection—to what degree Charles's personal preferences played a role.[7]

Again in line with the tastes of the time, Charles was interested in obtaining works by the great masters of the Italian High Renaissance: Michelangelo, Leonardo, Raphael. He succeeded in acquiring a sculpture by Michelangelo, the *Sleeping Cupid* (now lost, likely destroyed in the Whitehall fire of 1698), as part of the Gonzaga collection. He received Leonardo da Vinci's *St. John the Baptist* from King Louis XIII of France (in exchange for a Holbein and a Titian).[8] Charles also acquired the famed Raphael cartoons for the *Acts of the Apostles* series (figures 4.4 and 4.5), along with a painting by the artist of *St. George and the Dragon*.[9] Correggio was another highly valued artist among collectors in the seventeenth century: Charles owned nine works by

[6] Ronald Lightbown, "Charles I and the Tradition of Princely Collecting," in *The Late King's Goods: Collections, Possessions and Patronage of Charles I in the Light of the Commonwealth Sale Inventories*, ed. Arthur MacGregor (London: Alistair McAlpine, 1989), 64.
[7] David Ekserdjian, "Charles I and the Northern Renaissance," in *Charles I: King and Collector*, ed. Per Rumberg and Desmond Shawe-Taylor (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2018), 82 and Roberts, *Treasures*, 8.
[8] David Ekserdjian, "Charles I and the Italian Renaissance," in *Charles I: King and Collector*, ed. Per Rumberg and Desmond Shawe-Taylor (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2018), 102 and Frank Zöllner, *Leonardo da Vinci 1452-1519: The Complete Paintings and Drawings* (London: Taschen, 2003), 248.
[9] Ekserdjian, "Italian Renaissance," 103-105. Charles, however, did not display the seven cartoons he purchased as stand-alone works of art, intending instead to use them to create new tapestries at the Mortlake workshop. See Helen Wyld, "Charles I and Raphael's 'Acts of the Apostles'," in *Charles I: King and Collector*, ed. Per Rumberg and Desmond Shawe-Taylor (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2018), 190.

the painter, including *Allegory of Virtue* and *Allegory of Vice*, once part of the *studiolo* of Isabella d'Este, along with Correggio's *Venus with Mercury and Cupid* (figure 4.6). Charles seems to have highly valued Venetian paintings by Titian, Tintoretto, and Veronese.[10] This interest likely stemmed from his time at the Spanish court, which had a strong collection of Venetian art, particularly works by Titian. As a whole, Charles was one of the first collectors in England to amass a great collection of Italian High Renaissance art.

Though Charles and contemporary collectors were not as interested in the Italian Baroque, the king did commission a bust of himself from Bernini, which arrived in England in 1637, to high praise, and Caravaggio's *Death of the Virgin* was acquired as part of the Gonzaga collection.[11] Many of the Baroque acquisitions made during Charles's reign were due to the tastes and preferences of his French Catholic wife, Henrietta Maria, and her relationship with the papal court. In 1626, at the urging of both the young royal couple and the Duke of Buckingham, Orazio Gentileschi settled in London, followed a decade later by his daughter, Artemisia, whose *Allegory of Painting* (figure 4.7) entered the royal collection shortly after.[12] Guido Reni executed paintings for the queen's home in Greenwich, one of her many building projects.[13]

[10] Ekserdjian, "Italian Renaissance," 103-105.
[11] Karen Serres, "Henrietta Maria, Charles I and the Italian Baroque," in *Charles I: King and Collector*, ed. Per Rumberg and Desmond Shawe-Taylor (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2018), 174 and 176.
[12] Serres, "Henrietta Maria," 172 and 175-176 and Karen Serres, "*Allegory of Painting*," in *Charles I: King and Collector*, ed. Per Rumberg and Desmond Shawe-Taylor (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2018), 247.
[13] Serres, "Henrietta Maria," 175.

Charles seems to have had a limited taste for Northern art, with an exception being the works of Peter Paul Rubens and Anthony van Dyck.[14] Most of his paintings by Northern artists were portraits, inherited from earlier generations, with few religious subjects. The king did have a fairly strong collection of German works, by Lucas Cranach, Albrecht Dürer, and, of course, Holbein.[15]

The most important works commissioned by Charles from Anthony van Dyck, who was named "principalle Paynter" in 1632, were portraits of the royal family.[16] *Charles I on Horseback with M. de St Antoine* (figure 4.8), painted by Van Dyck in 1633, was designed to hang at the end of a long gallery in St. James's Palace, creating the illusion of the king entering through a triumphal arch.[17] Displayed in the hall leading up to the grand portrait were Titian's *Roman Emperors*—the series of the eleven Caesars painted for the Gonzaga—along with smaller equestrian paintings by Giulio Romano (thought at the time to depict Roman emperors).[18] Like many of his contemporaries, the king here was visually aligning himself and his rule with great Roman emperors of the past—something he equally achieved with the *Triumphs of Caesar*.

Charles admired Peter Paul Rubens, perhaps due in part to the artist's stylistic similarities with the king's favored Venetian painters. He acquired a self-portrait by

[14] Rumberg and Shawe-Taylor, "Greatest Amateur," 24.
[15] Ekserdjian, "Northern Renaissance," 83 and 87.
[16] Desmond Shawe-Taylor, "The 'Act and Power of a Face': Van Dyck's Royal Portraits," in *Charles I: King and Collector*, ed. Per Rumberg and Desmond Shawe-Taylor (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2018), 129 and Per Rumberg, "Van Dyck, Titian and Charles I," in *Charles I: King and Collector*, ed. Per Rumberg and Desmond Shawe-Taylor (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2018), 150.
[17] Desmond Shawe-Taylor, "*Charles I on Horseback with M. de St Antoine*," in *Charles I: King and Collector*, ed. Per Rumberg and Desmond Shawe-Taylor (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2018), 244.
[18] Oliver Millar, *Van Dyck in England* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1982), 52 and Wood, "Taste," 131.

Rubens while still Prince of Wales, which proved extremely popular in England.[19] Charles commissioned from Rubens a series of ceiling paintings (figure 4.9) for the Banqueting House of Whitehall Palace, installed by 1636, for which Rubens was paid 3,000 pounds.[20] The king was unsuccessful, however, in persuading the artist to stay on as a court painter; Rubens only remained in England for nine months, from 1629 to 1630.[21]

A final important act of patronage associated with Charles was the Mortlake tapestry factory. The royal tapestry workshop at Mortlake was established in 1619, with the involvement of Charles (then the Prince of Wales).[22] It was the first of its kind in Britain, perhaps developed as a point of national pride, to compete with the more established workshops on the continent. For centuries, tapestries had been used in royal Britain as a rich form of decoration and display. Philip de Maecht, formerly a head weaver at a tapestry factory in Paris, was initially in charge of Mortlake, and brought over 50 weavers and their families from Flanders in 1620. Francis Cleyn was subsequently hired, around the same time that Charles was negotiating for the purchase of the Raphael cartoons in Genoa in 1623. Charles had Francis Crane, the head of Mortlake, purchase the Raphael cartoons for 300 pounds, with the intention of having his own set woven. The cartoons, cut into strips, were stored in chests. Eventually, work on creating

[19] MacGregor, "Charles," 148.
[20] Jonathan Brown, *Kings and Connoisseurs: Collecting Art in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 13; Lucy Aikin, *Memoirs of the Court of King Charles the First, Vol. I* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1833), 293; and Christina M. Anderson, *The Flemish Merchant of Venice: Daniel Nijs and the Sale of the Gonzaga Art Collection* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 145.
[21] MacGregor, "Charles," 148.
[22] Rumberg and Shawe-Taylor, "Greatest Amateur," 18.

a set of tapestries of the *Acts of the Apostles* began in 1630, though it was not completed until 1640 or 1641. The set of seven tapestries, the most ambitious project undertaken at Mortlake, cost approximately 4,500 pounds, and was highly praised by contemporaries.[23] The cartoons themselves were eventually displayed at Hampton Court Palace, where they were to be accompanied by one of Charles's greatest acquisitions: the *Triumphs of Caesar*.

II. Purchase of the *Triumphs of Caesar*

Negotiations for the purchase of the Gonzaga art collection by King Charles I began in 1626, facilitated by Daniel Nijs, a merchant and art dealer from Flanders. Talks began with Duke Ferdinando Gonzaga, who decided to sell portions of his family's collection due to financial difficulties.[24] Over a period of around 200 years, the Gonzaga had amassed an impressive—and valuable—collection of paintings and antiquities, attracting artists from all over Europe; Rubens was keeper of the collection from 1600 to 1608.[25] Nijs had a good relationship with Ferdinando, and initiated the sale knowing the interest in England for Italian, in particular Venetian, art. Duke Ferdinando was an avid collector, and likely intended only to sell a few of his works. However, Ferdinando died in October 1626, and was succeeded by Vincenzo II, who ruled for just over a year until his own death, in December 1627. The sale of the first part of the Gonzaga collection

[23] Wyld, "Acts of the Apostles," 190-192 and MacGregor, "Charles," 149.
[24] Anderson, *Daniel Nijs*, 116 and Barbara Furlotti and Guido Rebecchini, "'Rare and Unique in this World': Mantegna's 'Triumph' and the Gonzaga Collection," in *Charles I: King and Collector*, ed. Per Rumberg and Desmond Shawe-Taylor (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2018), 55.
[25] Brown, *Kings and Connoisseurs*, 40.

was negotiated between Nijs and Vincenzo, who was more willing to part with a larger portion of the collection to settle the family's debts.[26]

Nicholas Lanier also played a role in the acquisition of the Gonzaga collection. Charles dispatched Lanier to Italy in 1625, during the first year of his reign, but did not give Lanier specific instructions on works of art to seek out. While in Venice, Lanier was introduced to Nijs, who had previously worked purchasing art for Dudley Carleton; it was Nijs who directed Lanier's attention to Mantua and arranged an introduction with Duke Ferdinando.[27]

Nijs sent an envoy to Mantua in January 1627 to compile a list of artworks, and made an initial offer for paintings later that year. Nijs himself later travelled to Mantua, with the deal completed by the end of August 1627. However, Vincenzo did not agree to the sale of the *Triumphs of Caesar*, as a new site for its display had recently been created in the Palazzo Ducale. The paintings that Nijs did acquire were transported to Venice, arriving at Nijs's warehouse in Murano in September, though some works were still missing by October of that year.[28] The paintings were finally packed and set sail for England on April 15, 1628 (Lanier travelled overland with some of the more precious works—a good precaution, as a number of the paintings that went by boat were damaged by spilled mercury).[29]

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[26] Anderson, *Daniel Nijs*, 122 and Furlotti and Rebecchini, "Rare and Unique," 56.
[27] Brown, *Kings and Connoisseurs*, 40; Furlotti and Rebecchini, "Rare and Unique," 56; and Anderson, *Daniel Nijs*, 120.
[28] Anderson, *Daniel Nijs*, 123-128 and Furlotti and Rebecchini, "Rare and Unique," 56.
[29] Anderson, *Daniel Nijs*, 131-134 and Brown, *Kings and Connoisseurs*, 45.

Some of the paintings in this first sale included Titian's *Roman Emperors*, Guido Reni's *Toilet of Venus*, Raphael's *Holy Family*, the *Death of the Virgin* by Caravaggio, and a number of works by Correggio.[30] The selection of works aligned with the king's preference for High Renaissance Italian paintings, and showed a range of taste in regard to subject matter, from religious scenes, to sumptuous nudes, to episodes from antiquity.

After this initial sale, Nijs decided to acquire a number of sculptures from the Gonzaga collection, not included in the first purchase, and, eventually, the *Triumphs of Caesar*. The *Triumphs* had not been part of the initial purchase as Vincenzo II's asking price was so substantial, it was clear he had no intention of actually selling the series.[31] The situation changed when Vincenzo died on Christmas Day, 1627. The next duke, Carlo I, came from the Gonzaga-Nevers French branch of the family, and, in need of money, was more open to selling works of art. Negotiations for the statues reopened on May 13, 1628, with Giulio Cesare Zavarelli working with Nijs on behalf of the Gonzaga. The pair finally came to an agreement, with most of the statues having arrived in Murano by September 9 of that year. However, when Zavarelli visited Nijs in Murano shortly thereafter, Nijs stated that, in addition to claiming some missing works of art, he also wanted to purchase the *Triumphs of Caesar*.[32]

The *Triumphs* was considered the masterpiece of the Gonzaga collection, having been famed since the time of Mantegna. It is likely that Charles was familiar with the *Triumphs* from accounts by the Arundels, who had visited Mantua in 1613 or 1614

[30] Furlotti and Rebecchini, "Rare and Unique," 56 and Brown, *Kings and Connoisseurs*, 42.
[31] Christopher Lloyd, *Andrea Mantegna: The Triumphs of Caesar* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1991), 20.
[32] Anderson, *Daniel Nijs*, 137.

(accompanied by Inigo Jones), with Lady Arundel returning in 1623.[33] After successfully acquiring the *Triumphs*, in a letter to Secretary Lord Dorchester (Dudley Carleton) on February 2, 1629, Nijs informed the king of the purchase, writing:

> During the negotiations, Duke Vincenzo had set aside nine large pictures by Andrea Mantegna of *The Triumphs of Julius Caesar* for which he had built two new chambers where he had arranged them and when he asked 20,000 Spanish doubloons for them, I knew he did not wish to sell them. Those most knowledgeable about art told me, however, that I had missed the most beautiful and that by not having Mantegna's *Triumphs of Julius Caesar* I had, in fact, nothing…It was not possible to give His Majesty notice beforehand but knowing the quality of the statues and that all of the pictures were originals and then that the *Triumphs of Julius Caesar* by Mantegna were rare and unique things in this world whose value it was impossible to estimate, I believed I was performing a great service for His Majesty.[34]

The *Triumphs* left Mantua for Murano in 1629. Nijs did not have time to wait for the king's approval—another party might have purchased the painting—so he bought it with his own money, correctly assuming that Charles would want the series. Nijs only wrote to the king in February of 1629, after the sale had been completed. Charles quickly agreed to the sale, but was late in his payment, leaving Nijs in a difficult financial situation. As a guarantee, Nijs delayed the shipment of some of the most valuable sculptures—including an ancient *Crouching Venus* and two *Sleeping Cupids*, one by Michelangelo and one alleged to be the work of Praxiteles. Eventually these works were shipped in 1632, after Charles provided payment. The *Triumphs of Caesar* had arrived in England two years earlier, in 1630, and not a moment too soon: in July 1630, imperial

[33] Furlotti and Rebecchini, "Rare and Unique," 56 and Stephen Orgel, *Spectacular Performances* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2011), 231.
[34] Translated from the Italian in Anderson, *Daniel Nijs*, 138-139. The National Archives, Kew, SP99/31, ff. 15-16.

troops invaded and looted the city of Mantua.[35] In total, the Gonzaga sale seems to have cost between 25,000 and 35,000 pounds sterling. As a point of comparison, in her book on Daniel Nijs and the Gonzaga collection, Christina Anderson notes that the construction of Banqueting House by Inigo Jones cost 15,653 pounds, and Rubens was paid only 3,000 pounds to paint the ceiling.[36]

Rubens offers an intriguing connection between Mantua and London, as he was court painter and keeper of the Gonzaga collection in Mantua from 1600 to 1608.[37] The painter seems to have admired Mantegna and collected engravings by the artist while in Italy.[38] He certainly would have seen the *Triumphs of Caesar* while in Mantua (and later made his own copy after the series, discussed below). Rubens was very unhappy about the sale and dispersal of the Gonzaga collection, with which he had become so familiar during his time in Mantua, writing in a letter from June 15, 1628 that "The sale displeases me so much."[39] (Two years later, upon learning of the invasion and looting of Mantua, Rubens wrote, "This grieves me deeply…for I served the House of Gonzaga for many years, and enjoyed a delightful residence in that country in my youth.")[40]

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[35] Furlotti and Rebecchini, "Rare and Unique," 56-59.
[36] Anderson, *Daniel Nijs*, 145.
[37] Brown, *Kings and Connoisseurs*, 40.
[38] Michael Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), 28.
[39] See Ruth Saunders Magurn, trans. and ed., *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1991), for a compendium of Rubens's letters translated in English. For this particular document, see Magurn, letter 171 (translations from Magurn shall be referred to in this manner throughout).
[40] Charles Scribner III, *Peter Paul Rubens* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1989), 38. Magurn, letter 216.

On June 3, 1629, Rubens departed from Dunkirk for Dover, remaining in England for nine months.[41] During this time he was working as a diplomat, attempting to negotiate a peace treaty between King Philip IV of Spain and King Charles I. The first group of treasures from Mantua left Murano for England in April of 1628, and Rubens had the opportunity to see some of this original shipment displayed at Whitehall.[42] In a letter from August 9, 1629, in describing the collection, Rubens wrote: "And I must admit that when it comes to fine pictures by the hands of first-class masters, I have never seen such a large number in one place as in the royal palace."[43] However, having left London in March of 1630 to return to Antwerp, the artist was not present when the *Triumphs of Caesar* arrived in England, nor did he see it installed at Hampton Court.[44]

Around 1630, likely after his return to Antwerp, Rubens painted *A Roman Triumph* (figure 4.10), a copy of sorts of scenes from Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar*.[45] The painting (now in the National Gallery, London) measures 86.8 by 163.9 centimeters, and is made up of parts of three different canvases of anonymous copies of the *Triumphs* made at an earlier date. Rubens took those copies, cut them up, and stitched them together to create a pastiche, which he then liberally painted over. The right side of

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[41] Scribner III, *Rubens*, 35 and W. Noël Sainsbury, ed., *Original Unpublished Papers Illustrative of the Life of Sir Peter Paul Rubens, As an Artist and a Diplomatist* (London: Bradbury & Evans, 1859), 286.
[42] Anderson, *Daniel Nijs*, 133.
[43] Brown, *Kings and Connoisseurs*, 45. Magurn, letter 196. While in England Rubens also had the opportunity to view the Arundel collection of ancient sculptures, which he greatly admired. Scribner III, *Rubens*, 37.
[44] Gregory Martin, "Rubens, Painter and Diplomat," in *Charles I: King and Collector*, ed. Per Rumberg and Desmond Shawe-Taylor (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2018), 161 and Paul Oppenheimer, *Rubens: A Portrait* (New York: Cooper Square Press, 2002), 297.
[45] This is the date given by the National Gallery and recent literature. See, for example, Furlotti and Rebecchini, "Rare and Unique," 54. Other scholars, though, date the painting to ca. 1628, immediately before Rubens's arrival in London. See Christopher White, *Peter Paul Rubens: Man & Artist* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 211.

Rubens's painting is a fairly straightforward copy of scene V, though painted in a much looser style with the artist taking a number of liberties in the details. The left side less clearly corresponds to any one canvas from the series, though does borrow elements from scene IV.[46] Rubens was certainly familiar with the *Triumphs of Caesar* from his time in Mantua; a drawing of three figures from canvas VII at the Isabella Stuart Gardener Museum (figure 4.11), created while Rubens was in Mantua, shows that he studied the series closely. Perhaps the anticipation of the arrival of the series during his time in London inspired Rubens to make his own copy upon his return to Antwerp.

In total, Charles acquired around twenty percent of the Gonzaga collection, almost 400 paintings and sculptures, for a considerable sum.[47] To secure the haul, he fought off interest from other prospective buyers, including Marie de' Medici, Queen of France, and Cardinal Richelieu, who did succeed in acquiring Mantegna's *Parnassus* and *Minerva Expelling the Vices from the Garden of Virtue* (figures 1.7 and 1.8).[48] The investment vaulted Charles into the top tier of European collectors. However, Charles does not appear to have been personally involved in the purchase. After Lanier's initial instructions in 1625, there seems to have been no correspondence from the English court regarding the negotiations of the Gonzaga sale, nor was the king consulted on the price. It seems that Charles left it to his trusted delegates in Italy to make decisions about what works of art to purchase. Nijs well-understood the king's taste, which he took advantage

[46] For a discussion of this painting, see Furlotti and Rebecchini, "Rare and Unique," 54.
[47] Jerry Brotton, *The Sale of the Late King's Goods: Charles I and his Art Collection* (London: Macmillan, 2006), 5 and 107 and Brown, *Kings and Connoisseurs*, 45.
[48] Martin Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 295 and David Howarth, *Images of Rule: Arts and Politics in the English Renaissance, 1485-1649* (London: Macmillan Press, 1997), 252.

of when he enticed Charles to purchase the *Triumphs of Caesar*, knowing the king would desire to own such a Renaissance masterpiece.[49] Upon arriving in England, the Gonzaga art collection was dispersed amongst various royal residences, with the *Triumphs of Caesar* apparently transported directly to the Tudor Hampton Court Palace.

III. Hampton Court Palace

Since around 1630, Hampton Court Palace has been the home of the *Triumphs of Caesar*. Over the past four centuries, the series has been moved around and displayed in different manners at the whim of successive occupants, as shall be discussed throughout this chapter. In order to fully understand how the *Triumphs* functioned in its new foreign setting, and what role the series played for the various monarchs who lived there, it is important to first understand the palace itself.

Hampton Court Palace today is a conglomeration of structures and additions created over a period of centuries. The building has two main parts: the Tudor palace (figures 4.12 and 4.13) built in the early sixteenth century under Cardinal Thomas Wolsey and King Henry VIII, and the Baroque wing (figure 4.14) added at the turn of eighteenth century during the reign of William and Mary. Wolsey acquired the property in 1514, creating first the Base Court and then the Clock Court, which remain prominent features of the palace.[50] After Wolsey's arrest and subsequent death in 1529, Hampton Court and the rest of the Cardinal's property were acquired by Henry VIII. The king

[49] Anderson, *Daniel Nijs*, 129 and 136-138.
[50] Souden and Worsley, *Hampton Court*, 28-30.

initiated a number of work projects at the palace, including decorating various interiors and rebuilding the Great Hall, begun in 1532, a space that was used not only for dining, but for theatrical performances (figure 4.15).[51] Over the period of Henry's reign, the palace served as a site for pleasure and entertainment, having been built on a scale that allowed it to accommodate the full court and all their activities.[52]

Charles I became king on March 27, 1625, after the death of his father, King James I. As we have seen, shortly after ascending the throne, the new king succeeded in purchasing the Gonzaga art collection, including the *Triumphs of Caesar*. It is unclear when precisely the *Triumphs* arrived in England. It was certainly out of Mantua before the city was sacked in 1630. It was transported first to Venice, and left that city by October of 1630. The journey to London would have taken a few months, thus the *Triumphs* likely arrived in England in late 1630. It was seemingly taken directly to Hampton Court Palace where it was installed in the Long Gallery (also known as the King's Gallery), which dated back to Tudor times, but no longer exists.[53] It is uncertain precisely how the *Triumphs* was displayed at Hampton Court Palace prior to its removal for the sale of the royal collection, which commenced in 1649.[54] The decorative pilasters that separated the canvases at San Sebastiano remained in Mantua, and thus the *Triumphs* arrived in England without any sort of framework. Records for the payment of the

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[51] Souden and Worsley, *Hampton Court*, 43-50 and Sheila Dunn and Ken Wilson, *Strange Tales of Hampton Court* (London: Lanthorn Publishing Limited, 1985), 14.
[52] John H. Astington, *English Court Theatre 1558-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 63.
[53] Souden and Worsley, *Hampton Court*, 29 and 68 and Andrew Martindale, *The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna, in the Collection of her Majesty the Queen at Hampton Court* (London: Harvey Miller, 1979), 109. The Tudor Long Gallery was seemingly located where the Cartoon Gallery is today.
[54] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 109.

painting of nine frames in 1636-1637 suggest that the *Triumphs* received new frames around that time. From 1640, the *Triumphs* was protected from light by calico curtains, indicating the value attached to them.[55]

Many of the other paintings that Charles acquired as part of the Gonzaga purchase were sent to Hampton Court, which already featured a rich collection of Tudor artworks, particularly tapestries. As to why the *Triumphs* in particular were sent to that site, Simon Thurley, in his history of Hampton Court Palace, proposes two possible explanations. One was practical: the canvases required a significant amount of space and would fit perfectly in the Long Gallery at Hampton Court. The second reason was that the palace already had an "antique theme," including a set of ten tapestries of Julius Caesar (owned by Henry VIII and recorded in a 1547 inventory) and terracotta roundels of emperors in the Clock Court.[56]

Charles's art collection was dispersed among his many royal residences, including Whitehall, St. James's Palace, and Somerset House (the primary residence of Queen Henrietta Maria, which had been renamed Denmark House for Charles's mother, Queen Anne), among others. In decorating his palaces, Charles filled the public spaces with traditional choices, predominantly portraits. Only in the more private areas did one see

[55] Simon Thurley, *Hampton Court Palace: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 114.
[56] Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 114; Souden and Worsley, *Hampton Court*, 29; and Thomas Campbell, "New Light on a Set of Julius Caesar Tapestries in Henry VIII's Collection," *Studies in the Decorative Arts* Vol. 5, No. 2 (Spring-Summer 1998): 2. The Julius Caesar tapestries disappeared in the early nineteenth century, but were still in use at Hampton Court after Henry's reign, and were appraised in 1649 for 5,022 pounds. The tapestries were reserved for Cromwell's use at Whitehall, and returned to Hampton Court in 1675.

evidence of his personal taste, in the selection of sensual nudes by Titian and Correggio.[57] Charles seemed to have no qualms mixing sacred and profane art, showing a willingness to "synthesize" classical and Christian themes.[58]

Charles apparently took some interest and care in how his art collection was displayed. For example, the "The Greate Peece," a portrait of the royal family painted by Van Dyck in 1632 (figure 4.16), was hung in the Long Gallery in Whitehall, near the Privy Lodgings. However, instead of displaying the work amidst other portraits of members of the royal family, as was customary, it was surrounded by works from the Italian Renaissance. As mentioned above, Charles elected to hang one of his equestrian portraits by Van Dyck, *Charles I on Horseback with M. de St Antoine* (figure 4.8), amongst Titian's *Roman Emperors* and smaller works by Giulio Romano of figures on horseback. Titian's series was one of the many masterworks that Charles had acquired as part of the Gonzaga sale. The *Roman Emperors* had been commissioned from Titian by Federico II Gonzaga in the 1530s, to be displayed in the Camerino dei Cesari (figure 2.30) in the new apartments in the Corte Nuova designed by Giulio Romano. Painted and sculpted series of emperors were immensely popular during the Renaissance, and Titian's version was highly admired in Mantua, with a number of copies made after his originals.[59] The series was equally admired in England, at St. James's. In both instances—with the "Greate Peece" and with his equestrian portrait—the king was

[57] MacGregor, "Charles," 150.
[58] Rumberg and Shawe-Taylor, "Greatest Amateur," 25.
[59] Sheila Hale, *Titian: His Life* (New York: Harper Collins, 2012), 359-365 and Harold E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian, Volume III: The Mythological and Historical Paintings* (London: Phaidon Press, 1975), 43-47.

making visual comparisons and connections through his display choices: Van Dyck as the inheritor of the Italian tradition, and himself as the continuation of the Caesars and emperors who came before.[60]

Though Hampton Court functioned as a major residence for King Charles I (and his father James), overall it retained its Tudor look. No major alterations were done to the palace during the reign of James or Charles, though it was carefully maintained.[61] At the time of Charles's death in 1649, an inventory taken at Hampton Court listed 250 tapestries, most of which had been created in the sixteenth century.[62] Much of the art and furniture at Hampton Court under Charles dated from the previous century.[63] According to a mid-nineteenth-century guidebook, Charles had 1,387 paintings: 216 of those were "first-class," with 88 true masterpieces (or *chefs-d'oeuvre*, to use the author's term).[64] In selecting art to be displayed at Hampton Court, Charles primarily chose pieces that would complement the somewhat old-fashioned ambience of the palace, such as portraits and religious subjects.[65] No major restorations were done there during the first half of the seventeenth century, unlike the significant work undertaken at other sites, such as Whitehall, Somerset House, and Greenwich. Hampton Court remained a magnificent,

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[60] John Peacock, "The Politics of Portraiture," in *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, ed. Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (London: Macmillan, 1994), 226.
[61] H. M. Colvin, ed., *The History of the King's Works, Volume IV 1485-1660 (Part II)* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1982), 144. Under Charles, of all his residences, Hampton Court was second only to Whitehall in terms of funds spent on the palace.
[62] Souden and Worsley, *Hampton Court*, 67.
[63] Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 113-114.
[64] [Anna] Jameson, *Handbook to the Public Galleries of Art in and Near London* (London: John Murray, 1845), 191.
[65] Souden and Worsley, *Hampton Court*, 68.

stately, and traditional palace, a place to impress and entertain guests, particularly visiting ambassadors.[66]

IV. The Long Gallery

The Tudor Long Gallery at Hampton Court, which housed the *Triumphs of Caesar* for a number of decades, was seemingly located on the south front of the palace, and subsequently torn down for the new construction under William and Mary.[67] The Long Gallery, a space used for both entertainment and exercise, was constructed during the first phase of building under Cardinal Wolsey, from 1514 to 1522, and measured around 60 meters, extending from the main structure into the gardens. It contained Renaissance terracotta ornaments with different architectural orders and laurel wreaths; Wolsey also decorated his galleries with tapestries.[68] The space was located on the second floor, in the approximate area of the present-day Cartoon Gallery.[69] To fully comprehend how the *Triumphs* functioned in this space, we must first understand the space itself.

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[66] Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 114-115. There was some work done at Hampton Court, for instance, the queen's bedchamber was redecorated in 1641. Erin Griffey, *On Display: Henrietta Maria and the Materials of Magnificence at the Stuart Court* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 108.
[67] Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 114.
[68] Rumberg and Shawe-Taylor, "Greatest Amateur," 29 and Colvin, *King's Works, IV*, 19. Wolsey also had installed glazed terracotta heads of Roman emperors in the palace courtyards.
[69] Referred to as the first, or primary, floor in England. Souden and Worsley, *Hampton Court*, 29. In the 1530s, during the reign of Henry VIII, accounts from Hampton Court name two "long galleries," one in the King's apartments and one in the Queen's. The Queen's Long Gallery was built new, completed in 1537, and located along the eastern front of the palace. The King's Long Gallery occupied one side of the Cloister Court, likely the southern side, although possibly the western side. Colvin, *King's Works, IV*, 20 and 136-137.

Before discussing the Long Gallery at Hampton Court, it is important to define the space generally. The term "gallery" was used inconsistently by writers in earlier centuries. Broadly, a gallery was a long room with windows, overlooking a garden or park; these spaces originated in France and became popular in England during the early sixteenth century.[70] As an architectural feature, Long Galleries became increasingly prevalent in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[71] The primary function of a Long Gallery during the Tudor and Stuart period in England was as a site for the display and admiration of works of art, and a place for exercise (primarily walking).[72] Due to the frequent periods of bad weather associated with the English climate, the upper classes would often take their exercise indoors. The Long Gallery served as a place to "take a turn," and—as the name suggests—was frequently quite long to accommodate this practice.[73]

There is ample evidence of Long Galleries being used for exercise during this time. A forerunner of the later Long Gallery type was found in Henry VII's Palace at Richmond, built between 1497 and 1501. Henry and others would exercise in the gallery and enjoy the views of the garden (the view being an important feature of a gallery, which frequently had bay windows); music was also played in the space.[74] Cardinal

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[70] Rosalys Coope, "The Gallery in England: Names and Meanings," Architectural History Vol. 27 (1984): 447 and 450 and Colvin, *King's Works, IV*, 20.
[71] Maurice Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House: Architecture and Politics 1490-1550* (London: George Philip, 1987), 116.
[72] Coope, "Gallery in England," 447 and 450.
[73] Rosalys Coope, "The 'Long Gallery': Its Origins, Development, Use and Decoration," *Architectural History* Vol. 29 (1986): 48 and 51. For example, the Queen's Long Gallery at Hampton Court (built between 1536-1537, overlooking the gardens) measured 54.9 by 7.6 meters; some palaces had spaces measuring over 60 meters. Colvin, *King's Works, IV*, 19 and 137.
[74] Gervase Jackson-Stops and James Pipkin, *The English Country House: A Grand Tour* (London: George Weidenfeld & Nicolson Limited, 1985), 107.

Wolsey built galleries in his palaces: the spaces were described as "large and longe," and were used to receive visitors, admire the views, and exercise. His gallery at Hampton Court was glazed in 1514 and decorated with tapestries in 1517.[75] George Cavendish, secretary to the Cardinal, wrote that Wolsey's galleries were "good to walk in."[76] According to diarist Samuel Pepys, Charles II exercised in the long Matted Gallery at Whitehall: Pepys wrote that the king walked "twenty turns" there.[77] As early as 1534, in his book *Castel of Helth*, Thomas Elyot promoted the health benefits of walking. Picture galleries frequently looked out over courtyards or gardens so that fresh air would circulate, increasing the physical benefits of walking in the space.[78]

The Long Gallery was also a place to display works of art. Portraits were a frequent, though certainly not the only, form of decoration. Paintings of Roman emperors—like the *Triumphs of Caesar*—were also popular in Long Galleries, as were busts of ancient rulers.[79] Writing in 1658, William Sanderson listed what types of art were best for the different rooms and spaces in a palace. For the gallery, he prescribed "Grave stories, Histories, your best figures, and rarest worke."[80] Most galleries of the

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[75] Coope, "Long Gallery," 45-48 and 51 and Jackson-Stops and Pipkin, *Country House*, 107. Wolsey, who had travelled to France and seen galleries there, helped popularize them in England.
[76] Coope, "Long Gallery," 60.
[77] Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. [Richard] Braybrook (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902), 261 and Coope, "Long Gallery," 60.
[78] Frances Gage, "Exercise for the Mind and Body: Giulio Mancini, Collecting, and the Beholding of Landscape Painting in the Seventeenth Century," *Renaissance Quarterly* Vol. 61, No. 4 (Winter 2008): 1180 and 1186. Galleries were at times used for other forms of exercise or games: one country house, in the mid-seventeenth century, had a long gallery with a shuffleboard and another had billiards. Andor Gomme and Alison Maguire, *Design and Plan in the Country House: From Castle Donjons to Palladian Boxes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 308, note 125 and Jackson-Stops and Pipkin, *Country House*, 107.
[79] Coope, "Long Gallery," 51 and 61-63 and Jackson-Stops and Pipkin, *Country House*, 111.
[80] William Sanderson, *Graphice: The use of the Pen and Pensil. Or, The Most Excellent Art of Painting: In Two Parts* (London: Robert Crofts, 1658), 27.

time, which typically measured around six meters wide, had wainscoting or paneling, but this rarely survives. Other decoration could include tapestries or painted cloths, for example, in the Long Gallery at Hardwick Hall, where the tapestry decorations date to the late sixteenth century, with the painted portraits added in the early seventeenth century (figure 4.17).[81] One can glean a sense of how these spaces appeared in Daniel Mytens's portraits of the Earl and Countess of Arundel, painted around 1618 (figures 4.2 and 4.3). Thus, in addition to being a place for exercise, the Long Gallery was also a space for pleasure: both for admiring works of art, and also listening to music and perhaps enjoying other entertainments.[82] At the death of Henry VIII, the King's Long Gallery at Hampton Court (likely the space previously used by Wolsey) was filled not only with paintings, but also with musical instruments, suggesting it dually functioned as a space for exercise and entertainment.[83]

During the seventeenth century, it was thought that these two activities—exercise and looking at art—when combined were beneficial for the mind and body. Robert Burton, in his book *Anatomy of Melancholy* from 1621, wrote that visiting picture galleries was a good method to alleviate such ills.[84] William Sanderson, who worked for both King Charles I and Charles II, wrote that collectors, while strolling in their gallery, should "Walk, Judge, Examine, Censure" their art.[85] Walking the length of a gallery not only provided physical exercise, but looking at art also promoted virtue, in addition to

[81] Jackson-Stops and Pipkin, *Country House*, 104.
[82] Coope, "Long Gallery," 51, 61-63, and 65.
[83] Coope, "Long Gallery," 48 and Colvin, *King's Works, IV*, 20. There was also a Mappa Mundi on display.
[84] Gage, "Exercise," 1167.
[85] Sanderson, *Graphice*, 27 and Gage, "Exercise," 1172-73.

giving pleasure. As one scholar summarizes, picture galleries were viewed as a place for "combined physical and mental exercise."[86]

A final, important function of certain Long Galleries was as that of a meeting space. The Long Gallery was often a neutral ground, located between the public rooms in a palace (such as the Great Hall) and the private apartments of the inhabitant—in the case of Hampton Court, that inhabitant being the king.[87] Long Galleries were not public and open to all, but were accessible to many members of the court and visiting dignitaries.[88] As a neutral, semi-private space, the Long Gallery could serve as a place to conduct business and diplomacy, or for intellectual discussion.[89] As early as under Wolsey, the Long Gallery was used for the "reception of certain visitors" and for important meetings.[90] The gallery was frequently a more secluded space, often accessible only through the main apartments, where one would not fear being interrupted.[91]

Turning now to the Long Gallery at Hampton Court in particular, and its function during the reign of Charles I, its location near the king's private chambers suggests it was a space the monarch personally utilized, for exercise and admiration of his collection, though its proximity to more public spaces supports the notion that it may also have been used as a "neutral space" for various meetings. The decision to display the *Triumphs of*

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[86] Gage, "Exercise," 1168 and 1176.
[87] Coope, "Long Gallery," 60 and Paula Henderson, "The Loggia in Tudor and Early Stuart England: The Adaptation and Function of Classical Form," in *Albion's Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660*, ed. Lucy Gent (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 134.
[88] Tatiana C. String, *Art and Communication in the Reign of Henry VIII* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 130.
[89] Coope, "Long Gallery," 60 and Henderson, "Loggia," 134.
[90] Coope, "Long Gallery," 47 and Colvin, *King's Works, IV*, 19.
[91] Jean Guillaume, Review of *Galleria: Storia e tipologia di uno spazio architettonico*, by Wolfram Prinz, *Bulletin Monumental* Tome 148, No. 1 (1990): 104.

Caesar in the Long Gallery offers great insight into how Charles viewed and valued the painting. By placing the series in a space of which he made frequent use (if not for exercising regularly, then at minimum for moving from one wing of his palace to another), Charles indicated the value he placed on the painting, as both a magnificent work of art and as a symbol of status and power. It suggests that the king may have personally admired the series, and enjoyed the opportunity to view the painting regularly. The subject of the series is well-suited for a space intended for ambulating: one could well appreciate the processional aspect of the *Triumphs* while walking up and down the gallery. The sense of movement within the painting would be reinforced by the viewer's own actions. Additionally, those who were invited to see the *Triumphs* in the Long Gallery would have understood the visual comparison between the king and Julius Caesar—as king of both England and Scotland, Charles could fashion himself as one who ruled over a great empire, like Caesar—while on a different level respecting and admiring Charles as a man of taste and as a great collector of art. If one were in the space to conduct business or discuss diplomacy, or simply to exercise, the *Triumphs of Caesar* would have served as a daunting reminder of the power and military might of the monarch.

V. Courtly Entertainment under Charles and Henrietta Maria

Over the course of its almost 400-year history at Hampton Court Palace, the *Triumphs of Caesar* has been moved between rooms and arranged in various configurations, as shall be discussed later in this chapter. Once the series was on display

in a particular space, however, it seems unlikely that the canvases were taken down and used as backdrops for theatrical events, as they had been in Mantua. Yet, that does not mean that the *Triumphs* was not an integral part of the overall decorative scheme and entertainments that occurred at the palace. As we have just seen, Long Galleries were at times used for music and perhaps other types of performances. As mentioned above, at the death of Henry VIII in 1547, eight musical instruments were recorded as being present in the King's Long Gallery at Hampton Court. Similar instruments were listed in inventories taken at Hampton Court after the death of Charles I, perhaps those same instruments from the Tudor period.[92] In the early eighteenth century, during the reign of King George I, balls and dances were held in the Cartoon Gallery (a space similar to the old Long Gallery), where the Raphael cartoons were on display.[93] Therefore, it is certainly possible that some forms of entertainment were held in the Long Gallery while the *Triumphs of Caesar* was on view, perhaps with certain music or performances selected to specifically complement the antique backdrop. More broadly, the presence of the *Triumphs* in the Long Gallery—a space accessible to many courtiers and important guests—meant that it visually participated in, and perhaps shaped, the larger court culture at the palace. It is helpful, therefore, to consider what other entertainments occurred at Hampton Court during the seventeenth century.

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[92] Penelope Gouk, "Horological, Mathematical and Musical Instruments. Science and Music at the Court of Charles I," in *The Late King's Goods: Collections, Possessions and Patronage of Charles I in the Light of the Commonwealth Sale Inventories*, ed. Arthur MacGregor (London: Alistair McAlpine, 1989), 397-398.

[93] Souden and Worsley, *Hampton Court*, 109. The Cartoon Gallery was built under William and Mary, likely situated in the area formerly occupied by the Tudor Long Gallery.

Charles I and his wife, Henrietta Maria, oversaw a lively court with many forms of entertainment, including theatrical performances and masques. As had been true since the reign of King Henry VIII, the Great Hall at Hampton Court was frequently used as a site of theatrical performances.[94] The king and queen appear to have had a genuine interest in the dramatic arts, with Charles, Henrietta Maria, and the young Prince of Wales each acting as patrons of a different theater company. It was not unusual for the king to have several plays performed over the course of a week. Charles seemingly enjoyed Shakespeare: at least nine of the Bard's plays were performed for him.[95] When the London theaters were closed for the 1636-1637 season due to the plague, the king requested that his players travel to Hampton Court and perform for him there.[96] One noteworthy performance from that time was a new work by William Cartwright, *The Royal Slave*. This play had first been performed at Christ Church in Oxford in August or September 1636: the queen had so enjoyed the performance, that she borrowed the

[94] Souden and Worsley, *Hampton Court*, 63-64; Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 108 and 112; and Barbara K. Lewalski, "Milton's *Comus* and the politics of masquing," in *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, ed. David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 302. The Great Hall measures 32.3 meters long by 12.2 meters wide and, at the ceiling's peak, 19.8 meters high. Excepting the Banqueting House at Whitehall, this made the Hampton Court Great Hall the largest court theater in England in the period before the Restoration. Performances also at times occurred in the Great Chamber, also known as the Watching Chamber, which is contiguous with the Hall. It measures 16.8 meters long by 8.2 meters wide and 7.6 meters high. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the walls of the Chamber were hung with tapestries. Astington, *English Theatre*, 64-65.

[95] Margaret Barnard Pickel, *Charles I as Patron of Poetry and Drama* (London: Frederick Muller Ltd., 1936), 95-97 and 126. According to one nineteenth-century chronicler, Charles was the only English king "whose love for Shakespeare and familiarity with his works have been recorded to his honour." Jameson, *Handbook*, 178.

[96] Mary Susan Steele, *Plays & Masques at Court During the Reigns of Elizabeth, James and Charles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926), 262 and Astington, *English Theatre*, 210.

"cloathes" used there so that the King's Men were able to repeat the production at Hampton Court for Twelfth Night, on January 12, 1637.[97]

Even more than theater, the masque as an artistic form is associated with the Stuart courts of the first half of the seventeenth century. The word masque can be difficult to define. The English masque had its roots in medieval disguisings and Tudor pageants, with some similarities to Italian *intermezzi*.[98] The type of masque discussed here emerged around 1603, at the start of the reign of King James I, and continued until 1640.[99] The music, stage sets, costumes, and choreography were all integral parts of a masque during the Stuart period. The masque as a whole incorporated elements of fables and pastorals, heavy with symbolism, allegory, and mythology.[100] Masques were usually held at the royal court, and often for specific occasions, such as weddings or holidays.[101] The king, queen, and members of their court directly and actively participated in the masques, taking on various roles. Masques were expensive to produce, as they frequently featured elaborate sets and machinery, along with sumptuous costumes.[102]

Charles and Henrietta Maria regularly spent time at Hampton Court throughout his reign. They typically stayed at the palace in September and October, though

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[97] Pickel, *Charles I as Patron*, 122 and 161. It is unclear whether the "cloathes" referred to costumes or scenery hangings. Cartwright wrote a new prologue and modified the stage directions for the production at Hampton Court.
[98] Roy Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), 153-155.
[99] John Peacock, *The Stage Designs of Inigo Jones: The European Context* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1 and Butler, *Stuart Court*, 1.
[100] Strong, *Art and Power*, 154-156 and Jerzy Limon, *The Masque of Stuart Culture* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1990), 43 and 52.
[101] Peacock, *Stage Designs*, 2-4.
[102] Lewalski, "Milton," 296 and Brett Dolman, *Drama and Debate at the Court of James I* (Surrey: Historic Royal Palaces, 2004), 9.

outbreaks of the plague in London in 1625 and again in 1636 meant the royal family spent the Christmas season of those years at Hampton Court.[103] During Charles's reign, masques were almost exclusively court events. They were performed at a number of the king's residences, including Whitehall, Banqueting House, Somerset House, and Hampton Court. Masques were performed for a small audience, and typically only once. They were an elite ritual, with a political element that tended to flatter their recipient; for instance, *Albion's Triumph* can be read as a celebration of Charles's rule.[104] In that masque—performed on Twelfth Night, January 8, 1632, at Banqueting House—the king, who participated, was portrayed as the Roman-British emperor Albanactus, celebrating a triumph.[105]

Inigo Jones was responsible for the design of many innovative masque sets, producing masques from 1605 to 1640. Jones had travelled to Italy in the 1590s, and on his return to England introduced the idea of stage scenery in perspective, which came to be used for court performances. Jones drew on *intermezzi* sets that he saw while in Italy: for example, in *Albion's Triumph*, one scene design was based on the Temple of Peace in the *intermezzi* of *Il Giudizio di Paride*, by Giulio Parigi.[106] Though collectors such as the Earl of Arundel had already begun bringing ancient and Renaissance artworks into the

[103] Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 112.
[104] Butler, *Stuart Court*, 2-3 and Peacock, *Stage Designs*, 303.
[105] Lewalski, "Milton," 296 and 299; John Peacock, "Inigo Jones and the Arundel Marbles," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* Vol. 16 (1986): 77; and Karen Britland, *Drama at the Courts of Queen Henrietta Maria* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 66.
[106] Percy Simpson and C. F. Bell, eds., *Designs by Inigo Jones for Masques & Plays at Court* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1924), 2; Strong, *Art and Power*, 158; and Limon, *Masque*, 53.

country, it was Jones who helped popularize a classical aesthetic in England through his masque designs.[107]

Jones often alluded to works of art in England, including some in the royal collection, when designing sets for masques. For the first scene of *Albion's Triumph*, Jones's set refers to the famed Arundel marbles, with the design based on the Arundel frieze (figure 4.18).[108] In the proscenium arch for the same performance, the images of sleeping children likely alluded to the sleeping Cupid sculptures acquired by Charles as part of the Gonzaga collection, those by Michelangelo and Praxiteles.[109] Even the costumes designed by Jones for the production of *Albion's Triumph* showed a classical influence.[110] The masque was a way for Charles to demonstrate his success in purchasing the Gonzaga collection (including the *Triumphs of Caesar*), as spectators would have recognized the allusions to the king's recent acquisitions.[111] There was an additional political message in referencing the *Triumphs*: the painting celebrates a great military ruler having won a heroic victory; at the time of the masque, Charles was also a great

[107] Peacock, "Inigo Jones," 77.
[108] Britland, *Drama*, 66; Stephen Orgel, "Idols of the Gallery: Becoming a Connoisseur in Renaissance England," in *Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race, and Empire in Renaissance England*, ed. Peter Erickson and Clarke Hulse (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 281-282; and Peacock, "Inigo Jones," 79-80. In his book on Inigo Jones's stage designs, John Peacock writes that Jones, in his design for *Albion's Triumph* made "a grand scenic tableau out of the Arundel Marbles, as a setting for a pastiche of Mantegna's *Triumph of Caesar*." It is unclear, however, precisely what the author means by this statement. See Jones, *Stage Designs*, 45 and 47.
[109] Peacock, *Stage Designs*, 45-47 and Peacock, "Inigo Jones," 86. Though the sculptures had yet to arrive in England by January 1632, they were certainly known to Charles through a pictorial inventory provided by Nijs in 1629.
[110] Peacock, "Inigo Jones," 86-87.
[111] Peacock, *Stage Designs*, 303 and Peacock, "Inigo Jones," 85.

leader, soon to be crowned king of Scotland.[112] As one scholar writes, the masque "testified to the intersections of power, antiquarianism, and art."[113]

In general, in his masque designs Jones may have taken inspiration from any number of monumental works that Charles had acquired: not only Mantegna's *Triumphs*, but also the Raphael cartoons or a painting by Tintoretto, *The Washing of the Feet*, which featured Sebastiano Serlio's stage set for tragedies in the background.[114] Rubens's paintings for Banqueting House were shipped from Antwerp to London in the fall of 1636, and may also have been a source of inspiration.[115] As John Peacock writes, these various works of art may have for Jones "confirmed the possibility of crossing the frontier between painting and theatre."[116] Reference to art in the royal collection in the masque *Albion's Triumph* combined the worlds of theater, art, and politics, presenting Charles as a heroic leader.[117]

Though the *Triumphs of Caesar* may not have acted as an actual backdrop for the theater or for masques, the painting could still have functioned in a similar manner as did Jones's sets. Those invited by the monarch to the Long Gallery for exercise, negotiations, or the viewing of art (or a combination of the three) would have admired the series. The *Triumphs of Caesar*, even firmly on the wall in the Long Gallery,

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[112] Peacock, *Stage Designs*, 303 and David Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 109. Though Charles was king of both England and Scotland from the start of his reign in 1625, his coronation as king of Scotland in Edinburgh did not occur until June 18, 1633. Pauline Gregg, *King Charles I* (Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd.), 270.
[113] Butler, *Stuart Court*, 295.
[114] Peacock, *Stage Designs*, 53-54.
[115] Martin, "Rubens," 159 and Peacock, *Stage Designs*, 53-54. Jones himself was likely involved in the design of the ceiling.
[116] Peacock, *Stage Designs*, 53-54.
[117] Peacock, *Stage Designs*, 303.

successfully portrayed the king as a victorious ruler, and also as a cultured leader with fine taste in art. The presence of such a masterpiece of Italian Renaissance art in the palace would have impressed guests in regards to the king's skill as a collector, while also reinforcing his position as a leader in the vein of Julius Caesar. The *Triumphs* worked in concert with other entertainments and performances at Hampton Court—each amplifying the others—and functioned to promote Charles. Masques and theater during the reign of Charles I, in addition to his collecting practices, were an important component of the king's overall artistic patronage. As one scholar writes, the various arts under Charles were interrelated, and one of the significant aspects of theater and masques at the time was that they brought to life the great paintings of Mantegna, Rubens, Titian, and others: "Royal magnificence was proclaimed not simply through a collection of beautiful pictures and sculptures, but by participation in an action conceived in their spirit."[118]

The *Triumphs of Caesar* not only impressed visitors who saw it at Hampton Court, but may also have served as a source of inspiration for other artistic endeavors. As in Mantua a century prior, from the time of James I, there was a growing interest in the ancient world, and triumphs in particular, at the English court. This is evidenced in the architectural designs of Inigo Jones, the writings of Ben Jonson (who frequently collaborated with Jones on masques before a falling out in 1631), and the collecting practices of figures such as the Earl of Arundel and Charles himself.[119]

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[118] Astington, *English Theatre*, 215-216.
[119] R. Malcolm Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), 84 and Strong, *Art and Power*, 155.

Though Charles's reign did not feature many actual military triumphs, he did utilize triumphal imagery; this is nowhere better seen than in his acquisition and display of Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar*. Just as the Gonzaga displayed their own military might and power by associating themselves with Caesar, so too did Charles. The presence of the painting at Hampton Court Palace allowed for a direct comparison and parallel to be drawn between the king and the emperor. As noted by Roy Strong, though triumphal motifs had been popular in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, they did not reach England until the early seventeenth century, so this type of triumphal imagery was, in many ways, new and fresh.[120]

One of the few civic pageants sponsored by Charles was his entry into Edinburgh on June 15, 1633. A number of triumphal arches were built, featuring various allegorical figures and imagery. Actors in the guise of different characters gave speeches at different points along the route, and at the end of the procession was the figure of Fame holding a trumpet, standing alongside Honor and a statue of King James.[121] This event occurred shortly after the *Triumphs of Caesar* arrived in England, and perhaps took inspiration from the series.

Triumphal imagery is also found in Van Dyck's portrait *Charles I on Horseback with M. de St. Antoine* (figure 4.8), dating to 1633 (after the *Triumphs* had arrived in England). Here we see the king majestically riding through a triumphal arch. As

[120] Roy Strong, *Van Dyck: Charles I on Horseback* (London: The Penguin Press, 1972), 57 and Anthony Miller, *Roman Triumphs and Early Modern English Culture* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 122.
[121] David M. Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry 1558-1642* (Tempe, AZ: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 2003), 111 and 114-120. There were no festivities or royal entry into London at the time of Charles's coronation due to worries about the plague. See Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 110.

discussed above, the painting was displayed at the end of a long gallery in St. James's Palace, where it would appear as though Charles was riding through an opening into the corridor. This illusion and processional effect was similar to the sense of movement created by Mantegna in the *Triumphs of Caesar*, and Van Dyck may well have been impacted by the series—Van Dyck had been a student of Rubens, who himself was greatly influenced by the Italian art he saw during his many years in that country. The connection between Charles and past Roman emperors was reinforced by the presence of Titian's series of the Caesars and paintings of emperors by Giulio Romano, also displayed in the gallery.[122] In a similar vein, Inigo Jones designed a triumphal arch, to be displayed at Temple Bar, topped with an equestrian statue of King Charles (a plan that was ultimately rejected).[123]

Another example of triumphal imagery by Van Dyck is an oil sketch *en grisaille*, from circa 1639-1640, *Charles I and the Knights of the Garter in Procession* (figure 4.19). The sketch was produced with the intention of creating a series of tapestries (which were never completed), to be displayed in Banqueting House.[124] Around the same time, this sketch—which shows the members of the Order of the Garter in procession on Feast Day—was reproduced as an engraving by Richard Cooper.[125] The sketch has aspects of an ancient triumph; it is certain that Van Dyck was familiar with Mantegna's painting (which had been in England for about a decade), and may have taken inspiration from the series.

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[122] Miller, *Roman Triumphs*, 123.
[123] Strong, *Van Dyck*, 57.
[124] Souden and Worsley, *Hampton Court*, 68.
[125] Strong, *Van Dyck*, 62.

Many masques of the 1630s had a triumphal element. One need only look at the titles: in addition to *Albion's Triumph*, we find *Britannia Triumphans*, *Love's Triumph through Callipolis*, the *Triumph of Peace*, and the *Triumphs of the Prince d'Amour*. These all reinforced the notion of Charles as the conquering, triumphant leader. The *Triumph of Peace* in 1634 started with an actual procession through the streets to Whitehall.[126] *Love's Triumph through Callipolis*, one of the earliest masques to survive from Charles's reign, was presented to the king and queen on January 9, 1631 at Whitehall. Created by Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones, it featured a triumphal procession of 15 lovers, each escorted by a cupid, with the king in the center.[127]

Albion's Triumph (created by Inigo Jones and Aurelian Townshend) also contained Roman triumphal elements. For the production, Jones created an atrium, amphitheater, and costumes, drawing on both the Arundel marbles and the *Triumphs of Caesar* as inspiration. The masque, however, is not about a military triumph, but an allegorical one, with Charles as the triumphator personifying significant virtues.[128]

In terms of theater, a number of works by Shakespeare, including *Titus Andronicus* (1593-94), *Julius Caesar* (1599), and *Antony and Cleopatra* (circa 1607), were set in ancient Rome and featured triumphal elements. These plays, which continued to be produced during Charles's reign, demonstrated yet another manner in which the English of the seventeenth-century were appropriating Roman triumphal imagery.[129] Many of Shakespeare's plays were performed in the Great Hall at Hampton Court Palace,

[126] Butler, *Stuart Court*, 26 and 287.
[127] Butler, *Stuart Court*, 136 and Britland, *Drama*, 66.
[128] Miller, *Roman Triumphs*, 124-125.
[129] Miller, *Roman Triumphs*, 128-135.

with the *Triumphs of Caesar* not far away. All of these elements—Charles's art collection and manner of displaying such, the masques and dramas held at his palaces, actual triumphal processions—reinforced Charles's interest in projecting to his court and the public an image of a triumphant ruler in complete control, something also accomplished through his acquisition of and association with Mantegna's *Triumphs*.

All the triumphal imagery in the world, however, was not enough to save Charles. In 1642 the theaters were closed by an act of Parliament, and no more masques were performed at court. On January 10, 1642 Charles fled Whitehall and travelled to Hampton Court, but the palace was not defendable, so he was forced to leave and it remained empty for five years. The king returned on August 24, 1647, and stayed briefly at Hampton Court under house arrest before escaping. In 1649, he was convicted of high treason and executed.[130]

VI. Sale of the Royal Collection, Cromwell's Retainment of the *Triumphs*

After the execution of King Charles I on January 30, 1649, Parliament decided that the royal collection would be sold off to cover debts and pay servants. The Commons voted on July 4, 1649 to liquidate the collection, reserving certain works for the Council of State and (eventually) the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell. Then began the process of inventorying the different palaces, which started in September.[131] Works

[130] Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 121 and Arthur MacGregor, "The King's Goods and the Commonwealth Sale. Materials and Context," in *The Late King's Goods: Collections, Possessions and Patronage of Charles I in the Light of the Commonwealth Sale Inventories*, ed. Arthur MacGregor (London: Alistair McAlpine, 1989), 27.
[131] Brown, *Kings and Connoisseurs*, 10 and W. L. F. Nuttall, "King Charles I's Pictures and the Commonwealth Sale," *Apollo* Vol. 82, No. 44 (October 1965): 302.

at Hampton Court Palace were assessed between October 3 and 5, 1649, with almost 350 paintings recorded.[132] At that time, the "Nine. peeces beinge a triumph. of Julius Caesar; done by Andre de Mantanger" was appraised at 1,000 pounds, one of the highest valuations for a painting in the royal collection.[133] Other works given a high price were those by Raphael, Correggio, and Titian—the *Triumphs* was the only fifteenth-century painting that was highly valued.[134] As a comparison, another painting by Mantegna, his *Dead Christ*, was purchased by Edmund Harrison for only 30 pounds.[135]

Somerset House in London was used as the primary location for the sale of royal goods. The sale began in October of 1649, and was mostly completed by late 1651, though some aspects continued until the summer of 1653. Records were kept of who bought what (and for how much). Many of the works sold to buyers in England were later recovered when Charles II was restored as king, and remain in the United Kingdom today (either as part of the royal collection or in public museums). However, pieces sold abroad, including those purchased by other monarchs, were lost, and many are now found at the Musée du Louvre and Museo Nacional del Prado.[136] One of the few works in the royal collection to remain *in situ* was the ceiling painting done by Rubens a decade earlier and installed in Banqueting House.[137]

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[132] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 109 and MacGregor, "King's Goods," 29.
[133] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 109 and Oliver Millar, ed., *The Inventories and Valuations of the King's Goods 1649-1651* (United Kingdom: The Walpole Society, 1972), 186.
[134] Rumberg and Shawe-Taylor, "Greatest Amateur," 24. An inventory from 1874 includes a list of artists represented at Hampton Court, with Mantegna being one of the oldest. William Willshire, *The Stranger's Guide to Hampton Court Palace and Gardens* (London: Stevens & Richardson, 1874), 85.
[135] Nuttall, "Charles I's Pictures," 308.
[136] Nuttall, "Charles I's Pictures," 302-303.
[137] Rumberg and Shawe-Taylor, "Greatest Amateur," 17.

Valued at the substantial sum of 1,000 pounds, the *Triumphs of Caesar* was not sold. It was initially offered for sale, but there were no interested buyers, likely due to the large asking price and the poor condition of the canvases. The painting was then officially reserved from the sale on September 27, 1651, and by the spring of 1654 it was back at Hampton Court where it remained, for the use of Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector.[138] It is unclear why the *Triumphs* was kept for Cromwell, beyond by the necessity of not being able to sell the series: perhaps Cromwell simply enjoyed the military subject matter.[139] Cromwell himself was a great military leader—much more so than Charles I—and, like the Gonzaga, may have desired the connection to Julius Caesar for the emperor's military successes. Cromwell may have drawn a parallel between himself and Julius Caesar, both saving their countries from tyranny. According to Ernest Law (a historian who wrote a guidebook on Hampton Court in the late nineteenth century), after the Battle of Worcester, the Council of State:

> resolved to prepare a suite of rooms at Hampton Court for the victorious "Lord General" and to invite him to occupy them—which he did, after a triumphal procession through London, in the evening of October 12th. Could there have been a more appropriate decoration to grace the walls of the conquering hero's gallery, at such a moment, than the "Triumph of Julius Caesar"?[140]

Additionally, unlike many of the other masterpieces of the royal collection, the *Triumphs* was not a depiction of monarchy, nor was it a religious subject. Thus, the series was ideally suited to portray the goals and values of the new regime. Cromwell, like many

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[138] Brotton, *Sale*, 275 and Robin Simon, ""Roman-cast similitude": Cromwell and Mantegna's "Triumph of Caesar,"" *Apollo* Vol. 134, No. 356 (October 1991): 224.
[139] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 109-110.
[140] Ernest Law, *Mantegna's Triumph of Julius Caesar: As Hung in the Old Orangery Hampton Court Palace* (London: Selwyn & Blout Ltd., 1921), 77.

leaders before and after, appropriated and recontextualized the painting, imbuing it with new meaning.

It may also be that the *Triumphs*' potential as designs for tapestries to be created at Mortlake was recognized. The Mortlake tapestry workshop had been established in 1619, but by 1649 was suffering. Gilbert Pickering, a member of the Council of State, took over the factory in 1651. The Council, in August 1653, ordered cartoons to be made after the *Triumphs of Caesar*. It is uncertain when work on creating the tapestries was actually initiated, or how many tapestries may have been created—at least some tapestries were eventually made, as today at Bowhill House in Scotland there are three tapestries from Mortlake with designs based on the *Triumphs* (figure 4.20).[141] Having been sent away to be copied, the *Triumphs* was returned to Hampton Court soon after. At its return, the series was reinstalled in the Tudor Long Gallery.[142]

Hampton Court Palace was retained for the use of Oliver Cromwell as a country estate. After being made Lord Protector in 1653, Cromwell resided primarily at Whitehall, but spent most weekends at Hampton Court, from Friday to Monday—Hampton Court served as Cromwell's main country residence throughout his time as Lord Protector.[143] Cromwell first arrived at Hampton Court on April 15, 1654, and used

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[141] Roy Sherwood, *The Court of Oliver Cromwell* (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1977), 27; Millar, *Triumph*, 6; and Martindale, *Triumphs*, 109-110. It seems that the set of three tapestries today at Bowhill were woven in the 1670s for Ralph Montagu, to be displayed in a specific room at Montagu House. See Wendy Hefford, "Ralph Montagu's Tapestries," in *Boughton House: The English Versailles*, ed. Tessa Murdoch (London: Faber and Faber, 1992): 104-15.
[142] Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 125 and Law, *Mantegna's Triumph*, 80.
[143] Souden and Worsley, *Hampton Court*, 69; Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 126; and Colvin, *King's Works, IV*, 146.

the palace until his death in 1658.[144] During the time he spent there over the years, Cromwell often received and dined with officers from the army. He enjoyed riding horses, hunting in the park, and dining in the Great Hall.[145]

Gilbert Pickering, of the Council of State, and Clement Kinnersley, who held an important position in the Royal Wardrobe, were in charge of decorating Hampton Court, and displayed the *Triumphs of Caesar* in the Long Gallery there.[146] There is no reason to believe that the Long Gallery under Cromwell did not continue to function as it had under Charles, that is, as a space for exercise, the viewing of art, and possibly private meetings. As with his predecessor, Cromwell may have elected to show off the *Triumphs* to visitors to the palace; the series would likely have been particularly popular with members of the military, who frequently dined with Cromwell at Hampton Court.

In addition to the *Triumphs of Caesar*, Cromwell kept a number of other works of art, including the Raphael cartoons, Bronzino's painting of a *Lady in Green*, the *Holy Family* by Correggio, and works by the Venetian artists Giorgione, Titian, and Tintoretto, of both religious and romantic subjects.[147] Cromwell also reserved two works with Roman subject matter by Giulio Romano, one thought to be of Julius Caesar, though in actuality depicting *The Omen of Claudius's Imperial Power*. The vast majority of works reserved by Cromwell were by Italian artists.[148] After acquiring Hampton Court,

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[144] Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 126 and MacGregor, "King's Goods," 29.
[145] Souden and Worsley, *Hampton Court*, 70; Patrick Little, "Uncovering a protectoral stud: horses and horse-breeding at the court of Oliver Cromwell, 1653-8," *Historical Research* Vol. 82, No. 216 (May 2009): 253; and Sherwood, *Court*, 23. Some members of government also lived at Hampton Court.
[146] Brotton, *Sale*, 279.
[147] June Osborne, *Hampton Court Palace* (Kingswood: Kaye and Ward, Ltd, 1984), 208.
[148] Francis Haskell, *The King's Pictures: The Formation and Dispersal of the Collections of Charles I and his Courtiers* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 139 and 142-143.

Cromwell actually bought back a number of works for the palace that had earlier been sold by the Commonwealth, indicating a level of interest and care in how the palace was decorated.[149]

It can be difficult to know how much personal taste influenced Cromwell's choices, or whether the decisions regarding the display of paintings were purely political (or economical, as Cromwell was more frugal than his predecessor). It does seem that Cromwell favored Italian art, putting his tastes in line with other major collectors of the time, with a preference for ancient subjects and militaristic imagery—reflective of his skill as a military commander, while providing a distancing from religious images that might be deemed controversial. These preferences are seen also in Cromwell's selection of tapestries.

A number of tapestries were set aside from the royal sale, to be used to decorate Whitehall and other residences (some tapestries that had already been sold were repurchased by the State for this purpose).[150] Many tapestries were displayed at Hampton Court; as one author writes, "Cromwell seems to have seized upon tapestries above all to demonstrate his magnificence."[151] His collection included a tapestry set of the siege of Troy and another of the siege of Jerusalem, along with a series of the ancient battle of Hannibal and Scipio, and one of Titus and Vespasian (with the Julius Caesar tapestries displayed at Whitehall). There were also tapestries showing the history of Charlemagne and the defeat of the Spanish Armada.[152] Since the Tudor period, Hampton Court Palace

[149] Simon, "Cromwell and Mantegna," 226.
[150] Haskell, *King's Pictures*, 138-139.
[151] Griffey, *On Display*, 189.
[152] Griffey, *On Display*, 190 and Sherwood, *Court*, 26.

has been famous for its tapestries. Dating back to the time of Henry VIII, the most prized sets included those of *Abraham*, *Joshua*, *Tobias*, *St. Paul*, and *Julius Caesar*. During the reign of Charles I, any new tapestries made at Mortlake were sent to other palaces (St. James, Somerset House, Whitehall), thus maintaining an "antique" feel at Hampton Court.[153] As portable objects capable of transforming a space, the *Triumphs* would have functioned in a similar manner to the many tapestries, immediately giving an entire room a feel of both antiquity and triumphalism.

As to the decoration of specific rooms at Hampton Court under Cromwell, the bedchamber in the Queen's Apartments was used for state purposes, and hung with tapestries of Venus, Vulcan, and Mars.[154] Cromwell installed an organ in the Great Hall, as he had a love of music.[155] Portraits of the French king and queen and their ambassador were also reserved from the sale and put on display—evidence of Cromwell using art for political reasons.[156] Overall, the palace was beautifully decorated during Cromwell's time there. As a whole, Hampton Court Palace survived the Interregnum period unscathed, largely due to Cromwell's preference for the place.[157]

A final piece of evidence that Cromwell appreciated the power of art is visible in the five portraits painted of him between 1649 and 1657. In these portraits, Cromwell is depicted in much less splendor than Charles had been. He wears armor, or simple

[153] Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 112.
[154] Sherwood, *Court*, 23 and Souden and Worsley, *Hampton Court*, 70. This was not the bed chamber that had been used by Charles I.
[155] Sherwood, *Court*, 23 and 136.
[156] Haskell, *King's Pictures*, 139.
[157] Griffey, *On Display*, 189 and Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 127.

dress.[158] A portrait by Peter Lely, painted shortly after Cromwell became Lord Protector on December 16, 1653, particularly stands out (figure 4.21).[159] Cromwell wears plain dress, with his eyes looking down, giving the Protector a pensive expression. Cromwell wrote to Lely regarding the portrait, telling the artist "to use all your skill to paint my picture truly like me & not Flatter me at all."[160] With this painting, Cromwell set himself apart from the luxury and extravagance of Charles I.

Cromwell's court was very economical, having a fixed income from Parliament. The Lord Protector was not a great patron of the arts, and rarely created lavish displays. An exception was for the weddings of his daughters, at which operas and plays were performed. There was also entertainment for special occasions, such as visits by ambassadors.[161] On November 18, 1657, Cromwell's youngest daughter, Mary, was married to the Viscount Fauconberg at Hampton Court. At that time a number of musical acts, in the vein of masques of earlier timers, were performed.[162] On these types of occasions, and during Cromwell's regular weekend visits to Hampton Court, the *Triumphs* may have been shown off to great advantage.

Finally, Cromwell did make use of some triumphal conventions during the Civil War. For example, after his victory at the Battle of Worcester in September 1651, Cromwell arrived at London and was met outside the City by the Lord Mayor, where a

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[158] Laura Lunger Knoppers, "The Politics of Portraiture: Oliver Cromwell and the Plain Style," *Renaissance Quarterly* Vol. 51, No. 4 (Winter 1998): 1295.
[159] Alistair Malcolm and Jonathan Brown, "*Portrait of Oliver Cromwell*," in *The Sale of the Century: Artistic Relations Between Spain and Great Britain, 1604-1655*, ed. Jonathan Brown and John Elliott (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 227 and Knoppers, "Oliver Cromwell," 1303.
[160] Knoppers, "Oliver Cromwell," 1303-1305.
[161] Sherwood, *Court*, 9-10 and 140.
[162] Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 126 and Sherwood, *Court*, 144.

speech was given, and crowds cheered. Cromwell rode in a coach: this connected him to the Roman ruler Camillus, who rode in a chariot as opposed to on horseback. Camillus was a great military leader who saved Rome when the city was attacked by the Gauls, just as Cromwell saved England from royal tyranny. Overall, the spectacle was fairly understated, though before his arrival prisoners had been paraded through the streets.[163] As a whole, Cromwell used triumphal imagery, including the *Triumphs of Caesar*, to reinforce his status as a military leader and rightful ruler.

VII. The *Triumphs of Caesar* under Charles II and William and Mary

After the death of Oliver Cromwell and the brief rule of his son, Richard Cromwell, Charles II (figure 4.22) was invited by Parliament to retake the throne. He returned to London on May 29, 1660, after 15 years in exile; his coronation occurred a year later, on April 23. A number of steps were taken after the restoration of Charles II as king to reclaim items from the royal collection sold off after the death of Charles I. An order dated May 12, 1660 demanded that those in possession of the king's goods must return them. The majority of the collection had remained in England, and a number of citizens willingly returned works of art: Peter Lely gave back seven sculptures and eight paintings, and Emmanuel de Critz returned the Bernini bust of Charles I (for which he had paid 900 pounds).[164] Due to this effort, and to the number of items that had been retained by Oliver Cromwell, there were enough works of art to adequately decorate the

[163] Miller, *Roman Triumphs*, 154-155.
[164] Stephen Gleissner, "Reassembling a Royal Art Collection for the Restored King of Great Britain," *Journal of the History of Collections* Vol. 6, No. 1 (1994): 103-105 and Brotton, *Sale*, 116.

palaces, enabling Charles II to live like a king at the start of his reign. Clement Kinnersley rearranged the tapestries, paintings, and statues at the palaces to be suited for the new monarch, with much of the royal collection being returned to Hampton Court.[165]

Most works of art, however, were not returned until 1661 or later (if at all). Starting in the summer of that year, work began in earnest on redecorating the royal residences. 14 paintings by Van Dyck were restored, with a portrait of the royal family, known as "The Greate Peece," installed by Charles II in the Long Gallery at Whitehall (where it had hung during his father's reign), and *Charles I with M. de St. Antoine* placed at Hampton Court. By the mid-1660s, the royal collection had been greatly rebuilt, and had over 1,000 paintings.[166]

An inventory from around 1666-1667 states that the *Triumphs of Caesar* was still located in the Long Gallery at Hampton Court, renamed the King's Gallery. However, the canvases were not hung in the correct order: in fact, they were interspersed with a number of other paintings on display, 79 in total, with a variety of subjects by many different artists.[167] This is a telling display choice, suggesting the painting was perhaps not as highly valued at this time (or that Charles II did not respect the linear nature of the series). Certainly the impact of the canvases is diminished when not viewed together in sequence. The motive here may have been political, with Charles II wanting to distance himself from the tyrannical mistakes of his father, or perhaps the series had become too

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[165] Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 127-129 and Brotton, *Sale*, 125 and 329. An inventory from 1659, taken shortly after Cromwell's death, lists the *Triumphs of Caesar* as still in the Long Gallery. Martindale, *Triumphs*, 110 and John B. Marsh, "Oliver Cromwell at Hampton Court," *The Gentleman's Magazine* Vol. CCXL, No. 1758 (June 1877): 749.
[166] Gleissner, "Reassembling," 109 and 112; Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 132; and Brotton, *Sale*, 131-132.
[167] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 110-111 and Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 146.

strongly associated with Cromwell. Maybe the choice of display was more of an aesthetic decision, with Mantegna's style viewed as being too old-fashioned for the new king's taste, who preferred works of the High Renaissance.[168]

Charles II did not spend a significant amount of time at Hampton Court over the course of his reign, though his mistress Barbara Villiers and their illegitimate children lived there. The palace was used as a country house, a place for hunting and entertaining. Some renovations were done, particularly to Barbara's apartment, located on the south front under the King's Gallery. In August 1674, the king's illegitimate daughter with Barbara, Lady Anne Fitzroy, was married to Thomas Lennard, the Earl of Sussex, at Hampton Court. Charles and his court attended the wedding, a grand event, with the marriage procession passing through the King's Gallery, and thus past the *Triumphs*.[169] It is difficult to know, however, whether this route was selected intentionally so that the party would process by the *Triumphs*, or simply as it was the most expedient.

Under Charles II, Hampton Court was used as a summer meeting site for the Privy Council—the Council met there 34 times, until the end of Charles's reign. Records from 1681 and 1683 show the Council meeting there regularly on Thursdays from the end of March until July. In March 1681, due to the large numbers of people visiting the palace thanks to the presence of the Privy Council, an order was passed to restrict access to the King's Gallery. The gallery was then re-matted in 1686.[170]

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[168] Gleissner, "Reassembling," 111. In total, the inventory lists 204 items at Hampton Court Palace, with 645 works from the royal collection at Whitehall. After the Great Fire of London in 1666, a number of works of art in the royal collection were evacuated to Hampton Court Palace. See also Brotton, *Sale*, 132 and Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 136.
[169] Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 136 and 140-141 and Souden and Worsley, *Hampton Court*, 71.
[170] Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 141.

James II, younger brother of Charles II who reigned briefly as king from 1685 to 1688, did not spend much time at Hampton Court; he was mostly there just for meetings of the Privy Council.[171] The next monarchs to leave a significant mark on Hampton Court Palace were the Dutch King William III and Queen Mary II (figure 4.23), who were invited to take the throne in 1689 after the deposition of James II, a suspected Catholic.[172]

On March 2, 1689, the new king and queen visited Hampton Court Palace, eventually relocating there. By May 4 of that year, Christopher Wren had drawn up plans for significant changes to the Tudor structure, with the demolition of portions of the old palace beginning that month, and foundations laid in June.[173] The new apartments were located to the southeast of the Tudor structure, around a new courtyard; the king's suite faced south, overlooking the Privy Garden, and the queen's rooms looked east, over the Fountain Garden (figure 4.24). Only presentation drawings, and not an architectural plan, survive for Wren's third and final set of designs for the new building. It was done in a modern Baroque style, with similarities to Versailles; attempts were not made to visually integrate the style with the older buildings—perhaps a sign of respect on William's part for his Tudor predecessors. Work progressed rapidly: by November of 1689 construction was already being done on the roof. However, the pace proved to be too fast, with part of the new King's Apartments collapsing in December. Work then

[171] Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 143 and George Lambert, *Hampton Court* ([London]: [1882?]), 18.
[172] Mary, daughter of King James II, was raised a Protestant, and married William, Prince of Orange, in 1677.
[173] Souden and Worsley, *Hampton Court*, 76 and 78 and Simon Thurley, "The building of the King's Apartments: A most particular monarch," *Apollo* Vol. 140, No. 390 (August 1994): 13.

resumed, with the majority of the building completed by March 1692.[174] William and Mary visited Hampton Court off and on during the early part of their reign, living in the old part of the palace as work progressed on their new wing.[175]

Work stopped after the death of Queen Mary on December 28, 1694, resuming only in summer 1697 (at the end of the war with the French), with Wren back to work in spring 1698.[176] Though much of the initial designs were to Mary's taste, when work resumed in 1697, it was more in William's style. In 1699, William Talbot, not Wren, was tasked with completing the State Apartments. The Cartoon Gallery, to house the *Acts of the Apostles*, was designed at this point, though not yet built. There were likely already plans in place to install the *Triumphs of Caesar* in the Queen's Gallery.[177] (The Tudor Long Gallery, the prior home of the painting also known as the King's Gallery, was torn down to accommodate Wren's new building.)[178] The Lower Orangery, where the *Triumphs of Caesar* is presently housed, was built on King William's instruction from 1701 to 1702 (figure 1.9).[179]

William spent his first night in the new King's Apartments on October 27, 1699. Between that point and April 1700, the king visited Hampton Court at least 30 times, remaining at the palace to oversee the work being done, the arrival of furniture, and such.

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[174] Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 153 and 163 and Thurley, "King's Apartments," 13.
[175] Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 182. In July 1689, Princess Anne joined them there, and gave birth to a son.
[176] Souden and Worsley, *Hampton Court*, 84 and Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 184. Continued work at Hampton Court was made more urgent after a fire destroyed Whitehall Palace in January 1698. Thurley, "King's Apartments," 13.
[177] Thurley, "King's Apartments," 13 and Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 188 and 194.
[178] Blunt, *Mantegna*, 15.
[179] Tim Richardson, "The orange revolution: Tim Richardson explains how the restoration of Hampton Court's Lower Orangery Garden provides a window into late-17th-century politics as well as horticultural fashion," *Apollo* Vol. 167, No. 553 (April 2008): 92. The building measures about 43.3 meters in length, by 5.6 meters wide, and 5.1 meters in height. Law, *Mantegna's Triumph*, 92.

The whole court went to the palace in April 1700, to celebrate the completion of work, remaining for over ten weeks. Until his death in March 1702, William continued to return to the palace for visits and to undertake improvements.[180]

William was very involved in the decoration of Hampton Court. Some aspects of the palace retained the influence of Queen Mary, for example, her love of Delftware and porcelain.[181] A number of the furnishings in the palace were in the fashionable French style. In decorating the King's Apartments, William looked to Versailles, hiring artists who had worked on that palace.[182] Tudor tapestries remained an important aspect of Hampton Court's decorative scheme under William.[183] In his decoration of Hampton Court, William worked to emphasize his ties to the Stuarts, and thus his legitimacy as monarch. This may explain why many of the older parts of the palace were retained in their original state, such as the Great Hall, and why William singled out works of art, including the *Triumphs of Caesar* and Raphael cartoons, acquired by his Stuart predecessors. Portraits of Stuart monarchs were prominently displayed, and William even brought to Hampton Court several tapestries that had been commissioned by Charles I and created at Mortlake.[184]

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[180] Thurley, "King's Apartments," 18-20. William was at Hampton Court from the fall of 1700 until January 1701, and again in summer and fall of 1701.
[181] Kevin Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule: The Restoration and Revolution Monarchy, 1660-1714* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 445 and Susan Jenkins, "A sense of history: The artistic taste of William III," *Apollo* Vol. 140, No. 390 (August 1994): 9. Mary kept most of her Delftware at Hampton Court, with her Chinese and Japanese porcelain displayed at Kensington Palace and Het Loo, her palace in the Netherlands. See Hugh Roberts, "The Royal Collection," in *Royal Treasures: A Golden Jubilee Celebration*, ed. Jane Roberts (London: Royal Collection Enterprises Limited, 2002), 13.
[182] Jenkins, "William III," 9.
[183] Souden and Worsley, *Hampton Court*, 84-86.
[184] Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, 428-429.

Not much is known about William III's taste as a collector, particularly before he ascended to the English throne. He did buy some paintings by Rubens in Antwerp in 1677, and had a collection of prints in Holland. His paintings in the Netherlands, in addition to works by Rubens, included examples by Italian masters, such as Jacopo Bassano, the Carracci, Parmigianino, Raphael, Titian, and Veronese, along with works by Van Dyck.[185]

William also seems to have had a taste for French art. Along with hiring artists who had worked on Versailles, he succeeded in employing Antonio Verrio (a Neapolitan who had spent time working in France) and Louis Laguerre. Laguerre painted 12 roundels of the Labors of Hercules in the Fountain Court (figure 4.25), in addition to his work on restoring the *Triumphs of Caesar*.[186]

The king took an interest in the display of the English royal collection at the various palaces in and around London, especially at Hampton Court. The State Apartments were hung with impressive Old Masters. The Emperors series by Giulio Romano was hung in William's cabinet. Paintings with less political significance, such as still lifes of flowers, were displayed in more private spaces. Constantijn Huygens the Younger, William's secretary, wrote that the king enjoyed supervising the hanging of his art, and liked to rearrange the collection. (In his private apartments on the ground floor at Hampton Court, William had the paintings in his closet hung on ropes, so he could easily

[185] J. G. Van Gelder, "The Stadholder-King William III as Collector and "Man of Taste"," in *William and Mary and their House* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1979), 29, 32-35, and 39. William sent some works from the royal collection to the Netherlands; these were then claimed by Queen Anne after William's death.
[186] Jenkins, "William III," 6-7.

reorder them.) Paintings emphasizing the king's lineage and works with military and imperial subjects were given pride of place.[187] This included the *Triumphs of Caesar*, which was eventually installed in the Queen's Gallery, where it would have been seen by a select audience.

A large painting of *William III on Horseback* by Godfrey Kneller (figure 4.26) was displayed in the King's Presence Chamber at Hampton Court, proclaiming the king as the true heir of Imperial Rome. This painting, commissioned by William and executed in 1701, evidenced the triumphant peace brought about by the king, while also recalling Van Dyck's equestrian portraits of Charles I and thus reaffirming William's links to the Stuart dynasty.[188] Tapestries with triumphal themes, including ones of Hercules and Joshua, were also part of the decorative scheme.[189] William, who enjoyed heroic and martial imagery, seems to have particularly liked the Hercules tapestries (figure 4.27).[190] A document from March 1693 regarding the repair of certain tapestries at Hampton Court gives a sense of which series were on view, as it specifically names the *Abraham* and *Joshua* sets, which seem to have been prominently displayed in the State Apartments.[191] All of these display choices suggest that the king—like his predecessors—was using art to convey political messages, including reinforcing William's lineage, his power, and right to rule.

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[187] Jenkins, "William III," 4, 6, and 9.
[188] Brett Dolman, "Antonio Verrio (c1636-1707) and the royal image at Hampton Court," *The British Art Journal* Vol. 10, No. 3 (Winter/Spring 2009/10): 24 and Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, 429.
[189] Dolman, "Antonio Verrio," 24.
[190] Jenkins, "William III," 8.
[191] Thomas Campbell, "William III and 'The Triumph of Lust': The tapestries hung in the King's State Apartments in 1699," *Apollo* Vol. 140, No. 390 (August 1994): 22.

Two significant works of art inherited by William as part of the royal collection—Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar* and Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles* cartoons—needed to be accommodated in the new Hampton Court Palace. William very much admired the Raphael cartoons, and decided to display them at Hampton Court in the specially-built new King's Gallery, today called the Cartoon Gallery (figure 4.28). Work on the new gallery space was progressing from 1692 to 1694. The space may have originally been intended for the *Triumphs of Caesar*, with the Raphael cartoons only installed there at the insistence of Queen Mary.[192] The *Triumphs* was instead hung in William's private gallery, known then as the "Green Gallery" (today the Queen's Gallery), a space designed by Wren (figure 4.29).[193]

The Raphael cartoons had previously been stored in strips, not put on display. At William's direction, they were glued together and put on stretchers, sometime between 1691 and 1693, indicating that William admired the cartoons as works of art in their own right, not simply as an utilitarian tool with which to create other works (tapestries).[194] The remodeling of the King's Gallery was finished in 1699, with the Cartoons ready to be hung in the fall.[195] At that point, wainscoting was installed behind the cartoons, to protect them from the damp, with green curtains to block the light. Due to various other

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[192] Jenkins, "William III," 4-5 and Cécile Brett, "Antonio Verrio (c1636-1707): His career and surviving work," *The British Art Journal* Vol. 10, No. 3 (Winter/Spring 2009/10): 13. The Cartoon Gallery measures 35.6 by 7.3 meters, and thus could have accommodated all nine canvases of the *Triumphs*. Michael Fishlock, "Restoration of the South Wing at Hampton Court Palace," *APT Bulletin: The Journal of Preservation Technology* Vol. 23, No. 3 (1991): 15.
[193] Jenkins, "William III," 5 and Law, *Mantegna's Triumph*, 81.
[194] Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 186 and Thurley, "King's Apartments," 14. William also had copies made after the cartoons, possibly for the creation of tapestries. Brett, "Antonio Verrio," 13.
[195] Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 185-186 and H. M. Colvin, ed., *The History of the King's Works, Volume V 1660-1782* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1976), 164.

changes in the palace, the gallery could now only be accessed from the King's Great Bedchamber, and thus became his own private space. At the start of William's reign, the room was referred to as the King's Gallery; beginning in 1699, however, it is listed in accounts as the Gallery for the Pictures.[196]

Due to a lack of adequate space, the Privy Council began meeting in the Cartoon Gallery at Hampton Court in the late 1690s under King William, a practice that continued until 1737. This, however, meant the king did not have exclusive use of his gallery. Thus, it was decided to complete the east gallery—which had initially been intended for the queen, and where work had begun based on Wren's designs in 1689—and to install there the *Triumphs of Caesar*.[197] This space, known now as the Queen's Gallery, was decorated in green mohair, with matching chairs.[198] In 1702, the *Triumphs* was hung on the walls (having recently been restored by Louis Laguerre).[199] The series was even more highly valued than the Raphael cartoons, and, throughout the creation of the Baroque addition to Hampton Court, there had always been plans for the canvases to be prominently displayed.[200] William, like so many rulers before him, may have associated himself with the figure of Julius Caesar, bringer of victory.[201] (It was William who initiated the restoration of the paintings.)[202] The singling out of the painting, and the

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[196] Thurley, "King's Apartments," 14-15 and Souden and Worsley, *Hampton Court*, 81.
[197] Thurley, "King's Apartments," 20.
[198] Souden and Worsley, *Hampton Court*, 91 and Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 202.
[199] It is uncertain precisely how the canvases were displayed, but as the Queen's Gallery measures only 24.4 meters in length, with one long wall occupied by windows, at least one canvas, and possibly two, was likely displayed on one (or both) short end walls (measuring 7.6 meters wide), similar to the manner in which the Alexander tapestries are currently hung. G. H. Chettle, *Hampton Court Palace* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1955), 15.
[200] Souden and Worsley, *Hampton Court*, 91 and Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 202.
[201] Jenkins, "William III," 5.
[202] Van Gelder, "William III as Collector," 33.

creation of a particular gallery for it in his new apartments, is evidence of the value William afforded the *Triumphs of Caesar*.

Like the Long Gallery before it, the Queen's Gallery was a private space, used by the royal family for exercise, entertainment, and intimate conversations.[203] The Queen's Gallery, in close proximity to the king's suite of rooms, was, in fact, William's own private gallery, where he could enjoy the *Triumphs* frequently and at his leisure.

In addition to his practices as a collector and decorator, the king was also a patron of contemporary artists. One painter who did significant work for William was the Italian artist Antonio Verrio. King Charles II had invited Verrio (who had previously worked in various cities in Italy and in France) to England to create tapestry designs for Mortlake; in the end, Verrio was instead given the task of painting ceilings at Windsor Castle, where he worked for about ten years. On June 30, 1684, after the death of Peter Lely, Verrio was named Chief and First Painter to the king, a position he retained during the reign of James II. He returned to royal service in June 1699, having undertaken a number of private commissions in the interim, including at Chatsworth House. Verrio was employed by William III, and also briefly by Queen Anne.[204]

The last five frescoes done by Verrio were all at Hampton Court. His first project there was decorating the Banqueting House (not to be confused with the Banqueting House in London with a ceiling by Rubens), a building on the Hampton Court grounds (figures 4.30 and 4.31). He then proceeded to do three projects in the new wing of the

[203] Souden and Worsley, *Hampton Court*, 91.
[204] Lambert, *Hampton Court*, 17 and Brett, "Antonio Verrio," 4, 7, 9, and 11.

palace proper. First were frescoes on the ceilings in the Great and Little Bedchambers in the King's Apartments. There Verrio painted *Selene and her Beloved Endymion* and *Mars in the Lap of Venus*, respectively (appropriate scenes for bedrooms).[205] Work on the King's Staircase began in February 1702 (figures 4.32 and 4.33); William died that March, before it was completed. Queen Anne allowed Verrio to finish work on the staircase, which continued through the summer, finally being completed in September 1702.[206] The original intention of William and Verrio was to have a series of rooms with painted ceilings along the second floor, extending from the King's Staircase through the bedchambers. William likely received ambassadors in the Great Bedchamber (sleeping somewhere else), and appeared before the court in the Drawing Room.[207] By the time of the king's death, however, only the two bedchambers had been completed. A sketch done by Verrio of *An Allegory of the Triumph of William III* may represent another ceiling design.[208]

In the King's Staircase frescoes at Hampton Court, Verrio likens William to the triumphant Alexander the Great, with the banquet and feasting gods representing the peace and prosperity brought by the king. Hercules is also present, a hero for whom William had an affinity.[209] The painting is based on an interpretation of *The Caesars* by Julian the Apostle, which associated William with both Alexander the Great and Apollo. Verrio very much simplified the story; none of the emperors painted on the ceiling can be

[205] Brett, "Antonio Verrio," 4 and 17 and Dolman, "Antonio Verrio," 21. As outlined by Dolman, another interpretation of these ceiling paintings is that they represent William's love for his deceased wife, Mary.
[206] Brett, "Antonio Verrio," 13 and 17.
[207] Souden and Worsley, *Hampton Court*, 99.
[208] Dolman, "Antonio Verrio," 21 and 24.
[209] Souden and Worsley, *Hampton Court*, 89.

definitively identified as Julius Caesar. The overall scene of gods banqueting is similar to imagery Verrio had painted elsewhere, including at Windsor.[210] The *Triumphs* was displayed at the end of the suite of rooms frescoed by Verrio. Read together, a preference by the king for antique imagery and triumphal themes is apparent. With his grand new building, commissioning of new artworks, and prominent display of older masterpieces such as the *Triumphs of Caesar*, William was showing himself to be a keen collector, patron, and connoisseur.

VIII. Practices of Display in European Princely Residences

Before turning to the display of the *Triumphs of Caesar* at Hampton Court under later monarchs in the eighteenth century, it is helpful to offer as comparison how works of art were displayed in other princely palaces around Europe in the seventeenth century, contemporary to the reigns of Charles I and William and Mary, and how these display choices may have had an impact on the English monarchs.

A useful place to begin is Italy, looking at the Galleria della Mostra (figure 2.20) in the Palazzo Ducale in Mantua, where the *Triumphs of Caesar* was displayed before its purchase by Charles I. Begun in 1594, the space was created by Duke Vincenzo I Gonzaga, who in 1604 ordered that work stop on other parts of the palace so that the gallery could be completed, instructing his court architect and painter (Antonio Maria Viani and Peter Paul Rubens, respectively) to draw up plans for the display of paintings

[210] Dolman, "Antonio Verrio," 22.

in the gallery.[211] The Galleria della Mostra was finally finished between 1611 and 1612, and measured about 64 meters long by 6.8 meters wide, with windows on one side overlooking a courtyard.

It is uncertain precisely how art was displayed in the space during Vincenzo I's reign, as the collection was reorganized by subsequent dukes. An inventory from 1627 lists 85 paintings in the Galleria, 23 portraits of the Gonzaga, 18 busts, and 12 statues. This included not only the *Triumphs of Caesar*, but also paintings by Titian, Giulio Romano, Dosso Dossi, and Caravaggio.[212] The Galleria della Mostra was one of the largest and most important rooms in the palace complex, and was used for the display of the most prized works of art in the Gonzaga collection, a mixture of secular and religious scenes.[213] It is worth noting that by the early seventeenth century, the most valued works in the Gonzaga collection were Italian paintings of the High Renaissance and early Baroque period, with the exception of the *Triumphs of Caesar*. This is a trend seen also at Hampton Court Palace, where the *Triumphs* was frequently the only fifteenth-century Italian work singled out as being of high value. Its manner of display in the Galleria della Mostra seems similar to how the *Triumphs* was displayed in England during the seventeenth century: that is, in a long gallery space, with windows on one side, and (at times) shown with other works of art.[214]

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[211] Lightbown, "Charles I," 60 and Furlotti and Rebecchini, "Rare and Unique," 54.
[212] Wolfram Prinz, *Galleria storia e tipologia di uno spazio architettonico*, ed. Claudia Cieri Via and trans. Alessandro Califano (Ferrara: Edizioni Panini, 1988), 29-30 and Furlotti and Rebecchini, "Rare and Unique," 54.
[213] Anderson, *Daniel Nijs*, 118.
[214] It is not certain how exactly the *Triumphs of Caesar* was displayed when it first arrived in England, but under Charles II, and again at later times in its history, the *Triumphs* was grouped with other works of art.

The gallery as an architectural feature originated not in Italy, but in France—though the term there was used more broadly, and could refer both to enclosed interior spaces and to open porticoes. King François I incorporated galleries into his palace at Fontainebleau in the mid-sixteenth century. The first of these was the Galerie François I (figure 4.34), built between 1528 and 1535, and then subsequently decorated with mythological scenes and casts from ancient artworks. That space, which measured 64 by 6 meters, was later eclipsed by the Galerie d'Ulysse, built between 1538 and 1540, and measuring an impressive length of just over 150 meters by 6.25 meters. The Galerie d'Ulysse, located on the second floor of the palace, bordering the courtyard, was decorated with scenes of Odysseus, allegories, and trophies, and was sadly later demolished in 1738.[215] Galleries in France at this time were decorated and functioned similarly to those in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as the Tudor Long Gallery at Hampton Court Palace.

More contemporary to the display of the *Triumphs of Caesar* at Hampton Court would be the galleries at Versailles. French art was seen as the height of fashion at the time; William III certainly admired French art and Versailles in particular, hiring artists who had worked on that palace to also work at Hampton Court.[216] The most impressive space at Versailles, and the one most similar in shape to an English Long Gallery, was the Hall of Mirrors (figure 4.35), which only received that name in the nineteenth century,

[215] Prinz, *Galleria,* 22-24 and 45. There was a rivalry of sorts between Henry VIII and François I in regard to their galleries, particularly the former's Long Galleries at Whitehall and St. James. Howard, *Tudor House,* 116.
[216] William's palace in the Netherlands, Het Loo, was sometimes called the "Dutch Versailles." Guy Walton, *Louis XIV's Versailles* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 215.

and was previously known simply as the Grande Galerie.[217] Work began on the space in 1678, after receiving approval from King Louis XIV. It measures 73 meters long by 10.4 meters wide, with 17 windows on one side overlooking the gardens, and mirrors opposite.[218] The ceiling features a gigantic painting by Charles Le Brun, celebrating the glories of Louis XIV, with niches along the walls filled with antique statues. The space was used for greeting ambassadors and for holding balls and games. The State Apartments leading up to the Hall of Mirrors were linked through their ceiling frescoes featuring mythological figures; William may have been hoping for a similar effect with his planned series of ceiling frescoes by Verrio at Hampton Court.[219] That series of rooms culminated near the Queen's Gallery (then known as the Green Gallery), where the *Triumphs of Caesar* was displayed—not quite the Hall of Mirrors, but an impressive space nonetheless.

Looking to a somewhat earlier French royal palace, the Louvre may have had an impact on the collecting and display practices of Charles I, courtesy of his French wife, Henrietta Maria. At only a few times in its history did kings and queens reside in the Louvre, but this did occur under King Henri IV, father of Henrietta Maria, who was born at the palace.[220] Henri initiated building projects at the Louvre Palace in the 1590s, with work starting on the Grande Galerie in 1595, to link the Petite Galerie to the Tuileries. The Petite Galerie was finished in 1596, and decorated with a series of portraits of the

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[217] Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos, *Versailles*, trans. John Goodman (New York: Abbeville Press, 1991), 235.
[218] Prinz, *Galleria*, 46.
[219] Gérald Van der Kemp, *Versailles* (New York: Park Lane, 1981), 38, 50, 66, and 70.
[220] Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, "The Louvre: A National Museum in a Royal Palace," *Museum International* Vol. 55, No. 1 (May 2003): 62-63.

kings and queens of France, alongside other famous men. The Grande Galerie, a huge space running along the river, measuring around 500 meters, was finally completed in 1608 (figure 4.36). The Louvre was the center of power under Henri, and played host to countless festivals, masquerades, and the reception of ambassadors and dignitaries. Special ceremonies were held in the Grande Galerie.[221] Henri worked to make the Louvre a center of the arts, including establishing tapestry and goldsmith workshops at the palace. Henri also built a hall where ancient sculptures of the royal collection could be displayed in the Salle des Antiques.[222] Henrietta Maria maintained a close connection with the French court upon becoming queen of England, and her tastes certainly played a part in the growing royal collection, and may have also had an impact on Charles's display choices and the role of Hampton Court as a center of the arts.[223]

The display of art in the galleries of the many Spanish royal residences is also worthy of study. Charles I, while still Prince of Wales, travelled to Spain in 1623, and the art he saw there (particularly paintings by Titian and the Venetians) proved to have a great impact on his subsequent collecting, and likely also the display of his own works. There had long been a preference in Spain for the work of Italian masters, evident in the collecting and display practices of Kings Charles V (who had visited Mantua in 1530 and 1532), Philip II, and Philip III. Collecting reached its peak in Spain in the mid-seventeenth century under King Philip IV, who also evidenced a bias towards Italian art.

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[221] Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, *The Louvre: An Architectural History* (New York: Vendome Press, 1995), 39 and 42.
[222] Bresc-Bautier, "National Museum," 62-63 and Bresc-Bautier, *Louvre*, 42, 58, and 64. Before moving to Versailles, Louis XIV worked to revamp some of the spaces in the Petite and Grande Galerie, including the beautiful Galerie d'Apollo.
[223] Rumberg and Shawe-Taylor, "Greatest Amateur," 17.

Titian and the Venetians were highly favored, as were Raphael and other artists of the High Renaissance.[224] When Charles arrived in Spain in 1623, King Philip IV had ascended to the throne only two years previously, and thus many of his great achievements in collecting and the redecorating of the Spanish palaces were still to come. During his visit, the Prince of Wales stayed in a suite in the Alcázar Palace in Madrid, an important royal residence.[225]

A study done by Marcus Burke of an inventory made in 1686 of the Alcázar Palace (where some of the best works of art were displayed), shows that the largest representation of artists were of the Venetian school, with Titian the most popular. There was also a high percentage of works from seventeenth-century Italy, with some of the most valued paintings being those from the High Renaissance. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century northern European artworks were also well represented, particularly the works of Rubens, with Spanish art making up about 13 or 14 percent (sections of Flanders and the surrounding region, referred to as the Spanish Netherlands, were at that point part of the Holy Roman Empire). The collection was, then, fairly balanced, but with a partiality for Italian works and a bias against art from before the sixteenth century—similar to the preferences seen in the collecting of King Charles I.[226]

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[224] Marcus B. Burke, "Private Collections of Italian Art in Seventeenth-Century Spain" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1984), 11-13 and 29.
[225] Jonathan Brown and J. H. Elliott, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 40.
[226] Burke, "Private Collections," 32-40.

One room that the prince likely would have seen in the Alcázar during his visit in 1623 was the Salón Grande, an impressive space measuring 46.5 by 10 meters.[227] The hall was used for state ceremonies and also for entertainments. A record from 1599 states that the room was then decorated primarily with views of cities and territories, but also had a number of paintings illustrating the military and political triumphs of Charles V. An account from 1623 also notes the presence of topographical views, and an inventory from 1636 lists in the space 26 paintings of cities, and 20-odd battle scenes, mostly ones fought by Charles V, but also by Philip I and Philip II.[228] Charles may very well have had this long hall, filled with battle scenes and triumphal imagery, in mind when he elected to display the *Triumphs of Caesar* in the Long Gallery at Hampton Court.

Buen Retiro, another significant Spanish royal palace, also featured an important room decorated with battle scenes. The Hall of the Realms, which measured 34.6 by 10 meters, was used for court ceremonies and entertainments, including theatrical performances. In addition to a large frescoed ceilings, the decoration included 12 battle paintings, depicting Philip IV's military victories, along with five royal equestrian portraits. Though the hall was not finished until 1635, and therefore was not seen in person by Charles, it represents a specific type of space, the Hall of Princely Virtue—through which a ruler demonstrates his power and glory using art and other lavish

[227] The room was also at times known as the Salón de las Comedias, for the plays performed there, and later was referred to as the Salón Dorado (Gilded Hall) after a redecoration done around 1640. Steven N. Orso, *Philip IV and the Decoration of the Alcázar of Madrid* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 118. The Alcázar palace was destroyed by fire in 1734.
[228] Orso, *Philip IV*, 118 and 121-122.

decorations—that Charles may have been attempting to create, on a somewhat lesser scale, at Hampton Court.[229]

The monastery of San Lorenzo at El Escorial, which also functioned as a royal palace, is a final Spanish residence worthy of consideration. Here, too, we find a long gallery decorated with battle scenes (figure 4.37), commissioned by Philip II in 1584.[230] As at other Spanish residences, we see a similar prejudice in favor of Italian art. Beginning in 1656, Diego Velázquez was tasked with decorating certain spaces there, a project that took two decades to complete.[231] In a study of those rooms, Bonaventura Bassegoda finds that the Venetians, particularly Titian, Veronese, and Tintoretto, feature heavily, as do other Italian artists of the High Renaissance and Baroque periods, including Jacopo Bassano, Anniable Carracci, Correggio, and Guido Reni. There were some non-Italian artists, such as Rubens and Van Dyck, along with Spanish artists Juan Fernández, El Greco, and Jusepe de Ribera.[232] Excepting the Spanish artists, all of these painters featured in the collections of Charles I, demonstrating again the strong impact the Spanish royal collection had on the young prince.

A final country worth examining is the Netherlands, particularly in relation to the display of the *Triumphs of Caesar* at Hampton Court under William and Mary. Mary, daughter of James II, married William, Prince of Orange, in 1677; the couple lived in the

[229] Brown and Elliott, *Buen Retiro*, 141-142 and 147.
[230] Brown and Elliott, *Buen Retiro*, 150. The paintings were done by three Italian artists, Niccolò Granello, Lazzaro Tavarone, and Fabrizio Castello.
[231] Bonaventura Bassegoda, "Pictorial Decoration of the Escorial During the Reign of Philip IV," in *The Sale of the Century: Artistic Relations Between Spain and Great Britain, 1604-1655*, ed. Jonathan Brown and John Elliott (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 107.
[232] Bassegoda, "Escorial," 121-135.

Netherlands until they took up the English throne in 1689. William seems to have had a great interest in art, and wanted to decorate not only his new English residences, but also the palace of Het Loo in the Netherlands. Het Loo was a country estate, a site for hunting, that was then expanded into a more fitting royal palace after William and Mary became monarchs. Daniel Marot, a Frenchman, was put in charge of redecorating the interiors from 1692. On the second floor of the palace was a Long Gallery, which during the time of William III served as a picture gallery (figure 4.38).[233] Shortly before 1700, 30 works of art and 17 tapestries were sent from England to Het Loo, including a number of Holbein portraits and a genre scene by Gerrit Dou, which allowed for a much more varied display in the gallery. Another work sent from England to Holland was Van Dyck's double portrait of William's parents, painted in 1641. This was noted by a visitor to Het Loo in 1705 to have been displayed in the center of the long wall of the gallery, over the chimney, in pride of place. A number of other works on display were remnants from the collection of Frederik Hendrik, including paintings by Van Dyck, Rubens, and Otto van Veen.[234]

Frederik Hendrik was a great collector, who had become stadholder in 1624, after the death of his brother. Frederik Hendrik's collecting practices were influenced by his earlier travels, including to the court of Henri IV in Paris in 1598 and his visits to England in 1603 and 1613.[235] However, somewhat unusually for the time, Frederik

[233] A. W. Vliegenthart, "Het Loo," in *William and Mary and their House* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1979), 43-45.
[234] Van Gelder, "William III as Collector," 34 and 37-39.
[235] Rebecca Tucker, "The Patronage of Rembrandt's Passion Series: Art, Politics, and Princely Display at the Court of Orange in the Seventeenth Century," *The Seventeenth Century* Vol. 25, No. 1 (2010): 77.

Hendrik showed a preference for collecting contemporary Netherlandish artists, including Jan Lievens and Rembrandt.[236] As one author notes, after his travels in Paris and London, Frederik Hendrik may have been hoping to imbue his palace with the same grandeur he had seen while abroad; he displayed much of his best art in the Stadholder's Quarters in the Binnenhof in The Hague, which contained a long gallery with large windows. The prince modeled the layout of the rooms there on those found in palaces at other European court centers: guests would have been led up a grand staircase, through a foyer to the gallery, and then into other rooms beyond. There were constant visitors—members of the court, military men, diplomats, businessmen—and the gallery was at times used for official social functions. Most of Frederik Hendrik's paintings were displayed in the gallery (55 works in total), which measured about 30 meters long, and was somewhat sparsely furnished, so the focus was on the art. Most of the artworks were by local, contemporary artists, setting Frederik Hendrik apart from other European collectors, who favored the Italian school. The collection was likely a source of national pride, and also featured a wide array of subject matters, including a number of secular scenes.[237]

William III seems to have followed in the tradition of his grandfather in terms of using galleries filled with art as a place for entertaining and impressing visitors. Although William does not seem to have shared Frederik Hendrik's interest in commissioning local artists, certain display choices by the king do show a sense of

[236] *William and Mary and their Time* ([London]: The Arts Council of Great Britain, 1950), 64.
[237] Tucker, "Patronage," 92-93 and 96-101 and Jori Zijlmans, "Life at the Hague Court," trans. Michèle Hendricks, in *Princely Display: The Court of Frederik Hendrik of Orange and Amalia van Solms*, ed. Marika Keblusek and Jori Zijlmans (Zwolle, Netherlands: Waanders Publishers, 1997), 35.

national pride. By sending Holbein portraits to Het Loo, William demonstrated his ties to his new country. Additionally, by prominently displaying works of art such as the *Triumphs of Caesar* and the *Acts of the Apostles*—works strongly associated with King Charles I—William reinforced his Stuart heritage and thus right to rule. William's successors at Hampton Court in the eighteenth century, however, utilized the *Triumphs* in a somewhat different way.

IX. The *Triumphs of Caesar* During the Eighteenth Century

On March 8, 1702, Queen Anne—daughter of King James II and younger sister of Queen Mary—ascended to the throne. Verrio continued to be employed at Hampton Court by Queen Anne. In May 1703, he was commissioned to paint the Queen's Drawing Room at Hampton Court (figures 4.39 and 4.40), which was completed by early 1705. The space was done in a *trompe l'oeil* style, with the appearance of a marble hall and open sky above, in which we see Queen Anne triumphant, above even the Olympian gods. Anne herself, as monarch, lived in the King's Apartments, and the Queen's Apartments were used by her consort, Prince George of Denmark. The Queen's Drawing Room was the central focus of that suite. On the ceiling, Anne is shown as both Britannia and Justice, while George is the Lord High Admiral; the scene shows Britain dominating the land and sea. The walls were painted to look like tapestries.[238] Anne held evening assemblies in this space, along with in the Privy Chamber. The Queen's Gallery,

[238] Brett, "Antonio Verrio," 13-14 and Dolman, "Antonio Verrio," 25-26.

where the *Triumphs of Caesar* remained on display, was located two rooms down. That space was more private, used for exercise, entertainment, and intimate gatherings.[239]

From 1702 to 1714, work continued at Hampton Court Palace, but no major changes were made. During the first six years, Hampton Court was mostly used for business, including meetings of the Privy Council. Anne and George dined at Hampton Court on April 19, 1706. George was very pleased with the recent improvements to the palace, and the couple remained for two nights, the first time Anne had stayed at the palace as queen. Though George seemed to like Hampton Court, the pair never stayed there together again. After her husband's death in 1708, Anne spent more time at the palace, sometimes remaining for a period of weeks.[240]

Contemporary accounts by travelers, and later guidebooks, provide details of the appearance of Hampton Court and the display of the *Triumphs of Caesar* during the eighteenth century. Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach, a book collector and connoisseur, travelled to England in 1710 (during the reign of Queen Anne), spending five months there. On October 24, he went to Hampton Court, where he visited the Hall of Triumph in the apartments built for King William. There he saw "nine great paintings representing the triumph of Julius Caesar, with the words: Veni, vidi, vici. They were painted by Julio Romano, Andrea Mantegna or Mantagnia, with matchless elegance and tolerable delicacy of execution, especially as far as the garments are concerned."[241] The

[239] Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 213.
[240] Souden and Worsley, *Hampton Court*, 100-101; Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 212-213; and Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, 604.
[241] W. H. Quarrell and Margaret Mare, eds. and trans., *London in 1710: From the Travels of Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach* (London: Faber & Faber Limited, 1934), 154-155.

"Hall of Triumph" was seemingly the Queen's Gallery, where the *Triumphs* remained on view. Celia Fiennes, who wrote about her travels around England, visited Hampton Court around 1712. There, in a long gallery with wainscoting, she records "pictures of all the Roman Warrs on one side," by which she means the *Triumphs of Caesar*.[242] It is interesting that neither diarist seems particularly well-informed about the painting, being confused regarding either the artist or subject. This perhaps indicates that the *Triumphs* was not well known outside court circles, having always been sequestered away at Hampton Court Palace.

After George I became king in 1714, some additional work was done at Hampton Court.[243] George I used the set of rooms that had belonged to William, with the Prince and Princess of Wales occupying the Queen's Apartments (with the *Triumphs* seemingly still on view in the Queen's Gallery). The king returned to Hanover in the summer of 1716, and in his absence the Prince of Wales held court at the palace. [244] The Prince and Princess of Wales enjoyed holding popular public courts at the palace, but were banished from Hampton Court by George I in December 1717, as some courtiers were proving to be more loyal to the prince than the king.[245]

When the king returned to Hampton Court in August 1718, in an effort to replicate the popularity of his son, George I dined in public at the palace and held evening assemblies, with balls in the Music Room at least twice a week.[246] Balls and

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[242] Celia Fiennes, *The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes 1685-c.1712*, ed. Christopher Morris (London: Macdonald & Co., 1982), 241.
[243] Souden and Worsley, *Hampton Court*, 105.
[244] Colvin, *King's Works, IV*, 175 and Souden and Worsley, *Hampton Court*, 109.
[245] Colvin, *King's Works, V*, 178-180.
[246] Colvin, *King's Works, V*, 178-180.

dances were also held regularly in the Cartoon Gallery, where the *Acts of the Apostles* were on display, with assemblies held in various other galleries at the palace.[247] The Great Hall was used for theatrical performances, with a stage remaining there until 1798 (though the last play performed at the site was in 1731).[248] As a whole, court life was more informal compared to that under William.[249]

George I was a great admirer of the *Triumphs of Caesar*. He had the painting restored and created gilded frames for the canvases.[250] At some point the *Triumphs of Caesar* was moved again so the Le Brun tapestries of Alexander the Great could be installed in the Queen's Gallery, where they remain.[251] The *Triumphs* was possibly placed by George in the Public Dining Room (figure 4.41), likely in the late 1710s or early 1720s. According to Law, the canvases were displayed around three walls of the room, as the space measured only about 15.3 by 9.1 meters.[252] This was a location where the painting could be more easily admired by visitors to the palace, as during the summers of 1717 and 1718, when George was staying at Hampton Court, he would regularly dine in public in the space, before his courtiers. Similarly, the Raphael cartoons became more visible as an outcome of holding balls in the space where they were

[247] Souden and Worsley, *Hampton Court*, 109 and J. M. Beattie, "The Court of George I and English Politics, 1717-1720," *The English Historical Review* Vol. 81, No. 318 (January 1966): 36.
[248] Colvin, *King's Works, V*, 178-180. James Thornhill, in 1718, painted scenery for the temporary theater erected in the Great Hall. Edward Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting in England 1537-1837, Volume One* (London: Tavistock Street, 1962), 265.
[249] Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 255.
[250] Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 245.
[251] Conversation with Brett Dolman, Curator (Collections), Historic Royal Palaces, October 5, 2017.
[252] Law, *Mantegna's Triumph*, 81.

displayed.[253] This may suggest that George I particularly admired those two monumental works that he inherited as part of the royal collection.

When George II (son of George I) became king in 1727, Hampton Court was used as a major royal residence for the last time. George II and Queen Caroline spent a great deal of time there.[254] Overall, the court was more formal during the reign of George II than under his predecessor. There were formal audiences, diplomatic receptions, hunting parties, and balls. George occasionally ate publicly in the Public Dining Room, where the *Triumphs of Caesar* was possibly still on display. George and Caroline visited in the summer of 1731, with a ball held on July 10. That year the King's State Apartments were redecorated.[255]

Next, the Queen's Apartments were redecorated. Queen Caroline did not like her Drawing Room, so the murals painted by Verrio only a few decades prior were covered with 457¼ yards of green Genoa damask, with the *Triumphs of Caesar* hung on top. Gold cord was added above, to accent the paintings' frames.[256] This was done around 1737, by 1742 at the latest.[257] The canvases were hung on three walls, diminishing the processional effect, perhaps indicative of the series being viewed more as a decorative tool (works that were readily available to hide the disliked Verrio murals), and not as a

[253] Beattie, "Court of George I," 30-31 and 35-36.
[254] Souden and Worsley, *Hampton Court*, 112.
[255] Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 269, 272, and 280 and Chettle, *Hampton Court*, 20.
[256] Souden and Worsley, *Hampton Court*, 112 and Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 280. The Queen's Drawing Room measures 12.6 meters by 10.5 meters. C. Yarrow, *The Hampton Court Guide: Containing a Descriptive Account of the Paintings, Statues, etc. etc. in the Palace and Gardens* (Kingston: C. Yarrow, 1817), 17. Damask hangings were very popular for decorating drawing rooms in the eighteenth century, with paintings then hung on top. Jackson-Stops and Pipkin, *Country House*, 145.
[257] Conversation with Brett Dolman, Curator (Collections), Historic Royal Palaces, October 5, 2017 and Martindale, *Triumphs*, 111-112.

political statement. An oak dado was added to the Queen's Drawing Room, along with crimson damask curtains.[258] Under George I, a weekly "drawing room" had been held in this space, where courtiers could mingle with the king, prince, and princess, and a more formal reception occurred on Sundays; the room likely continued to function in this way under George II and Caroline. In general, drawing rooms of the eighteenth-century were a place where people could retreat after meals, for conversation, cards, and other games.[259]

The court left Hampton Court Palace at the end of October 1737 and never returned. George II did visit a few more times during his reign, but not with a full court. Hampton Court was officially abandoned as a royal palace in 1760. George III purchased Buckingham House, and much of the art from Hampton Court was relocated there, including the Raphael cartoons, though the *Triumphs* remained behind. Though he never lived there, George III ensured that Hampton Court continued to be well-maintained, and occasionally visited with Queen Charlotte.[260]

During the second half of the eighteenth century, though Hampton Court was not regularly used by the monarchy, it remained a "grace-and-favor" residence, meaning a number of people lived there with the king or queen's permission. Various written accounts confirm that the *Triumphs of Caesar* remained on display. George Bickham, in

[258] Martindale, *Triumphs*, 111-112 and Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 254.
[259] Jackson-Stops and Pipkin, *Country House*, 139.
[260] Souden and Worsley, *Hampton Court*, 115, 118, and 121; Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 282; and Brett Dolman, "From a royal residence to a royal collection: The state apartments at Hampton Court Palace, 1737-1838," *Journal of the History of Collections* Vol. 30, No. 2 (2018): 218. The Raphael Cartoons were eventually returned to Hampton Court in 1804, before being loaned to the new South Kensington Museum by Queen Victoria in 1865 (now the Victoria and Albert Museum, where the cartoons remain on display).

his *Deliciae Britannicae* published in 1755, describes the walls of the Queen's Drawing Room as still being covered with green damask hangings, upon which were placed:

> nine Pictures, three on each Side the Length of the Room, and three at the End; these Pieces were formerly all in One, and of a prodigious Length, as may be discerned by some Parts of the Figures, which have been cut asunder; and some in one Place, and some in another. The Whole is a Triumph of Julius Caesar, consisting of a long Procession of Soldiers, Priests, Officers of State, &c. at the End of which, that Emperor appears in his triumphant Chariot, with Victory over his Head, crowning him with Laurel.[261]

A pocket guidebook to various royal palaces, published in 1798, records the *Triumphs* as still present in the Queen's Drawing Room. It is similarly described as: "Nine large pictures, which were formerly all in one piece of a great length, and was a triumphal procession of Julius Caesar…It was painted in water colours, by Andrea Mantegna."[262] In C. Yarrow's guidebook from 1817, the painting is still recorded as being in the Queen's Drawing Room.[263] In W. H. Pyne's *Royal Residences* from 1819, the painting is also listed as in the Queen's Drawing Room (though Pyne describes the damask as blue).[264] In 1837, Victoria became queen, and opened Hampton Court Palace to the public the following year. The *Triumphs of Caesar* was moved to the Communication Gallery (figure 4.42) and, for the first time, was able to be discovered by a much wider audience.

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[261] George Bickham, *Deliciae Britannicae; or, the Curiosities of Kensington, Hampton Court, and Windsor Castle* (London: E. Owen, 1755), 103.
[262] *The Beauties of the Royal Palaces: Or, a Pocket Companion to Windsor, Kensington, Kew, and Hampton Court* (Windsor: C. Knight, 1798), 14.
[263] Yarrow, *Hampton Court Guide*, 17.
[264] W. H. Pyne, *The History of the Royal Residences of Windsor Castle, St. James's Palace, Carlton House, Kensington Palace, Hampton Court, Buckingham House, and Frogmore, Vol. II* (London: A. Dry, 1819), 66-67.

X. Conclusion

From the time of its arrival at Hampton Court Palace under King Charles I, to the opening of the palace to the public under Queen Victoria over 200 years later, the *Triumphs of Caesar* served a variety of functions, dependent on the changing political and cultural circumstances. The painting could reinforce traits that a monarch was trying to promote, such as strength as a ruler or taste as a collector of art. Many inhabitants of Hampton Court were eager to align themselves with Julius Caesar, as had the Gonzaga centuries prior. The series could also function in a purely decorative manner, immediately transforming a space. Though the *Triumphs of Caesar* may not have been as mobile in its English home as it was when in Mantua, it continued to serve a similar purpose, impressing viewers and bringing glory to its owner.

Epilogue

Since its arrival at Hampton Court Palace in 1630, the *Triumphs of Caesar* has functioned differently for the various rulers who utilized the palace. For King Charles I, who acquired the series as part of his grand purchase of the Gonzaga collection, the *Triumphs* indicated his taste and skill as an art collector, while also allowing the king to align himself, like so many before him, with the military might of Julius Caesar—ideas that were reinforced through other entertainments at the palace. In its home in the Long Gallery, the king was able to show off the series to select visitors who were invited to "take a turn" or discuss business with the monarch. Though much of the royal collection was sold after Charles's execution, the *Triumphs of Caesar* was retained by Oliver Cromwell and kept at Hampton Court, which the Lord Protector used as a weekend home. Cromwell, much more than Charles, perceived himself to be a great military leader, and likely identified with that aspect of Julius Caesar. Though he did not host lavish parties at Hampton Court as did Charles, he did entertain the military there, who equally would have appreciated the series for its display of military might. Charles II, upon reclaiming the throne, allowed the painting to remain in the Long Gallery, but the canvases were hung out of order and with a number of other works of art. This suggests that the *Triumphs* was viewed more as a decorative work, yet the decision to hang the series in such of way could have been a political choice in and of itself: Charles II might have been trying to distance himself from Oliver Cromwell or the mistakes made by his father, with both of whom the painting may have become associated.

Under William and Mary, great changes were made at Hampton Court Palace. The *Triumphs* was eventually hung in a new space, the Queen's Gallery (figure 4.29), in the new building designed by Christopher Wren, where it could be seen to great advantage. William seems to have had a strong appreciation for art like Charles I, and used the painting not only to showcase his taste, but to legitimize his power, lineage, and right to rule, connecting himself to the Stuart dynasty while also, like so many before him, drawing parallels between himself and Julius Caesar.

During the Georgian period, the painting was perhaps more highly valued for its decorative worth. Though the *Triumphs* remained in the Queen's Gallery under Queen Anne, the canvases were removed and restored by King George I, who seemed to genuinely appreciate the series. The court life at Hampton Court under George I was fun and informal; the king likely enjoyed showing off his treasures to guests, who may have studied the *Triumphs* in the Public Dining Room (figure 4.41) while watching the king eat (a great entertainment in and of itself). The series was eventually installed in the Queen's Drawing Room (figure 4.39), used to cover murals by Verrio that had gone out of fashion. Broken up into groups of three, the series was seemingly valued then more for its large-scale decorative capabilities than as a symbol of triumphalism.

After becoming queen in 1837, Victoria opened Hampton Court Palace to the public in 1838. In 1839, the *Triumphs of Caesar* was displayed in the Public Dining Room, which was seemingly used as a temporary holding space of sorts until a more suitable location could be found. At the time when Anna Jameson was writing her *Handbook to the Public Galleries of Art in and Near London*, the *Triumphs* was on view

in the Public Dining Room, but by the time of the book's publication in 1842, the series had been moved. (In the Dining Room were also paintings by Palma il Giovane over the doors, a painting of Ganymede after Michelangelo between the windows, a painting of Adam and Eve by Jan Mabuse, and a painting, *Ruins*, by Viviani, over the chimney.)[1] The *Triumphs of Caesar* was then displayed in the Communication Gallery (figure 4.42), located across the Fountain Court from the Queen's Drawing Room, where the canvases were hung all in one long row. The series remained there until the start of the twentieth century.[2]

Writing in 1841, Henry Cole, using the penname Felix Summerly, recorded the painting as hanging in the Mantegna Gallery (the Communication Gallery).[3] A guide to the palace from 1848, by John Grundy, records the *Triumphs* as in the "Portrait Gallery," along with a number of other paintings (predominantly portraits).[4] A book from 1851 calls the room the Mantegna Gallery.[5] Gustav Waagen, a German museum director, also records the painting as being in the Portrait Gallery in 1854.[6] An 1874 guidebook calls the space "The Mantegna Gallery (Late Portrait Gallery)," with the *Triumphs* displayed

[1] [Anna] Jameson, *Handbook to the Public Galleries of Art in and Near London* (London: John Murray, 1845), 371 and 375 and Brett Dolman, "Curating the Royal Collection at Hampton Court Palace in the nineteenth century," *Journal of the History of Collections* Vol. 29, No. 2 (2017): 275.
[2] Ernest Law, *Mantegna's Triumph of Julius Caesar: As Hung in the Old Orangery Hampton Court Palace* (London: Selwyn & Blout Ltd., 1921), 82.
[3] Felix Summerly (Henry Cole), *A Handbook for the Architecture, Tapestries, Paintings, Gardens, and Grounds of Hampton Court* (London: Hugh Cunningham, 1841), 87.
[4] John Grundy, *The Stranger's Guide to Hampton Court Palace, etc.* (London: George Bell, 1848), 52.
[5] Henry G. Clarke, *Hampton Court Palace; Its Pictures, Tapestries, and Gardens: A Hand Book Guide for Visitors* (London: H. G. Clarke and Co., 1851), 54.
[6] Gustav Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain: Being an Account of the Chief Collections of Paintings, Drawings, Sculptures, Illuminated Mss., etc. etc., Vol. II* (London: John Murray, 1854), 410 and Jonathan Marsden, "The Collection on show," in *Royal Treasures: A Golden Jubilee Celebration*, ed. Jane Roberts (London: Royal Collection Enterprises Limited, 2002), 28.

with a number of portraits.[7] When Ernest Law published *The Illustrated New Guide to Hampton Court Palace with a New Catalogue of the Pictures* in 1893, he listed the *Triumphs* as remaining in the Communication Gallery, also known as the Mantegna Gallery.[8] The Communication Gallery, a name given by Wren, connects the King's and Queen's apartments, on the west side of the Fountain Court. The space is 31.7 meters long by 4.3 meters wide—long enough to display all nine canvases in a row.[9]

The inclusion of the painting in so many guidebooks from the Victorian era might seem to suggest that it was a highlight of Hampton Court Palace. Many of these guidebooks, however, appear to simply list literally every painting on display, numbering into the hundreds. The fact that the *Triumphs of Caesar* was frequently singled out in the various authors' descriptions, however, does indicate a level of value attached to the painting. Many authors took time to describe the series or give a biography of Mantegna. For example, Jameson provided her readers with information on Charles's acquisition of the Gonzaga collection and wrote that the *Triumphs* consisted of nine pictures, with "figures rather less than life, painted for Ludovico Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, and placed by him in a hall in his palace of San Sebastiano. They are painted in distemper on twilled linen, and appear to have been stretched on frames, and placed against the wall, not attached to it." She additionally provided a brief biography of Mantegna and discussion of his style.[10] Waagen, in 1854, wrote about the painting in great detail,

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[7] William Willshire, *The Stranger's Guide to Hampton Court Palace and Gardens* (London: Stevens & Richardson, 1874), 65.
[8] Ernest Law, *The Illustrated New Guide to Hampton Court Palace with a New Catalogue of the Pictures* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1893), 58.
[9] Ernest Law, *The Royal Gallery of Hampton Court Illustrated* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1898), 274.
[10] Jameson, *Handbook*, 180 and 371.

stating that the series, "was once the most important example of that enthusiasm for the grandeur of the ancient Roman world which prevailed in Italy," and that in the *Triumphs*, Mantegna "successfully reconciled the laws of ancient sculpture with those of painting." He continues to praise the series, stating that the "movements, though duly restrained, have much freedom and animation," then goes on to briefly describe each canvas in turn.[11] Ernest Law, in his guide from 1893 (echoing Waagen), wrote that the *Triumphs* was "Mantegna's greatest and richest work, the glory of Hampton Court, and one of the most precious artistic treasures of the English Crown."[12]

Since its arrival in England in 1630, the *Triumphs of Caesar* has remained continuously at Hampton Court Palace, being removed on only a few occasions. In the mid-seventeenth century, at least some of the canvases were probably sent to Mortlake for the creation of tapestries. During World War I the canvases were removed from the Communication Gallery, and were again stored away during World War II, for safekeeping. The *Triumphs* was first displayed in the Lower Orangery (figure 1.10), its current home, in 1921, and was reinstalled there in 1945.[13] At times some or all of the canvases were included in exhibitions at various museums; most recently, all nine were on view at the Royal Academy of Arts in early 2018 (in the context of Charles I's collecting practices), and three were displayed at the National Gallery in London in the exhibition "Mantegna & Bellini," in fall 2018, where they were situated within

[11] Waagen, *Treasures*, 411.
[12] Law, *Illustrated New Guide*, 59.
[13] Simon Thurley, *Hampton Court Palace: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 369 and 371. It was decided in 1919 to move the *Triumphs* to the Lower Orangery, this was done by July 1921.

Mantegna's oeuvre and compared to the work of his brother-in-law, Giovanni Bellini. Both exhibitions received glowing reviews, with the *Triumphs* certainly a highlight of each show—demonstrating that still today, over 500 years after its creation, the series has the power to captivate and awe audiences.

The history of Mantegna's masterwork the *Triumphs of Caesar* is long and varied. For over four centuries the series traveled between courts and around palaces, rarely staying in one place for more than a few decades. During its time with the Gonzaga and the English monarchy, the canvases were used in myriad ways, continuously being recontextualized. In Mantua, the series functioned as a form of novel palatial decoration, operated as a backdrop for theatrical performances, and impressed visitors in the pleasure palace of a marquis. At Hampton Court, the painting moved from room to room, where it served as a talking point for the current residents and their guests (at times with the added advantage of covering unfashionable murals).

Despite these varied functions, in each location the subject matter of the series allowed rulers to draw parallels between themselves and Julius Caesar, emphasizing their military skill, political power, and legitimacy, as well as highlighting their learned, humanist side through the display of classical iconography. Additionally, from the start, the *Triumphs* was hailed as a masterpiece of Italian Renaissance art, which positively reflected on the taste and connoisseurship of the owner of the series. Thus, despite the constantly changing and often unforeseen uses of the *Triumphs* over the five centuries since its creation, the inherent function has remained true to that originally intended by Andrea Mantegna and his patron, Federico I Gonzaga: to transform a space while

promoting its owner. Those spaces and owners were more varied than Federico could ever have imagined, but Mantegna's ability to convey military might, legitimacy of power, and humanistic wisdom remained as relevant as ever throughout the centuries.

Appendix I: Rulers of Mantua and England

Rulers of Mantua

name	*life dates*	*rule*
Lord Francesco I Gonzaga	1366-1407	1382-1407
Marquis Gianfrancesco I Gonzaga	1395-1444	1407-1444
Marquis Lodovico II Gonzaga	1412-1478	1444-1478
Marquis Federico I Gonzaga	1441-1484	1478-July 1484
Marquis Francesco II Gonzaga	1466-1519	July 1484-1519
Marchioness Isabella d'Este	1474-1539	
Duke Federico II Gonzaga	1500-1540	1519-1540
Duke Francesco III Gonzaga	1533-1550	1540-1550
Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga	1538-1587	1550-1587
Duke Vincenzo I Gonzaga	1562-1612	1587-1612
Duke Francesco IV Gonzaga	1586-1612	1612
Duke Ferdinando I Gonzaga	1587-1626	1612-Oct. 1626
Duke Vincenzo II Gonzaga	1594-1627	Oct. 1626-Dec. 1627
Duke Carlo I Gonzaga	1580-1637	Dec. 1627-1637

Rulers of England

name	*life dates*	*rule*
King Henry VII	1457-1509	1485-1509
King Henry VIII	1491-1547	1509-1547
King Edward VI	1537-1553	1547-1553
Queen Mary I	1516-1558	1553-1558
Queen Elizabeth I	1533-1603	1558-1603
King James I	1566-1625	1603-1625
King Charles I	1600-1649	1625-Jan. 1649
Queen Henrietta Maria	1609-1669	
Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell	1599-1658	Dec. 1653-1658
Lord Protector Richard Cromwell	1626-1712	1658-1659
King Charles II	1630-1685	1660-1685
King James II	1633-1701	1685-1688
King William III and	1650-1702	1689-1702
Queen Mary II	1662-1694	1689-1694
Queen Anne	1665-1714	1702-1714
King George I	1660-1727	1714-1727
King George II	1683-1760	1727-1760
King George III	1738-1820	1760-1820
King George IV	1762-1830	1820-1830
King William IV	1765-1837	1830-1837
Queen Victoria	1819-1901	1837-1901

Appendix II: Timeline of Known and Proposed Locations of the *Triumphs of Caesar*

location	*size, meters*[1]	*date installed*
Corridoio del Passerino, Palazzo del Capitano, PD[2] (?)	69 x 4.3	late 15th c. (?)
Salone degli Affreschi, Castello di San Giorgio, PD	19.6 x 6.4	
Stanza degli Stemmi, Castello di San Giorgio, PD[3] (?)	19.6 x 4.6	late 15th c. (?)
outdoor courtyard, PD [as backdrop]		Jan. 1497
temporary theater, unknown location, PD [as backdrop]		Feb. 1501
hall, Palazzo della Ragione, Mantua [as backdrop][4] (?)	56.4 x 17.2	Jan. 1505
garden, Palazzo San Sebastiano, Mantua [as backdrop]		May 1507
Sala dei Trionfi, Palazzo San Sebastiano, Mantua	32 x 7	by 1512
Galleria della Mostra, Corte Nuova, PD	64.2 x 6.8	by 1609
Long Gallery (King's Gallery), HCP[5]	approx. 60	1630, 1631 (?)
Queen's Gallery (Green Gallery), HCP	24.4 x 7.6	ca. 1702
Public Dining Room, HCP[6] (?)	15.3 x 9.1	late 1710s (?)
Queen's Drawing Room, HCP	12.6 x 10.5	by 1742
Public Dining Room, HCP	15.3 x 9.1	ca. 1839
Communication Gallery, HCP	31.7 x 4.3	ca. 1841
Lower Orangery, HCP	43.3 x 5.6	1921

note:
The *Triumphs of Caesar* requires approximately 28 meters of uninterrupted wall space to be displayed in a linear fashion with pilasters.

key:
PD – Palazzo Ducale, Mantua
HCP – Hampton Court Palace, East Molesey

[1] All measurements are the current size of the space (with the exception for the Long Gallery at Hampton Court Palace, which is an estimate of its original size).
[2] Proposed by Andrew Martindale, not generally accepted.
[3] Proposed by Ronald Lightbown and others. These two spaces were combined in the fifteenth century. Isabella d'Este's letter to her husband Francesco from 1494 implies that the *Triumphs* was in the Castello at that time, though not necessarily in this space.
[4] For a theatrical performance held at this site in January 1505, the space was seemingly decorated with a set of *Triumphs* referred to as being at Mantegna's studio—this may be the *Triumphs of Caesar*.
[5] This space is no longer extant, having been demolished during the construction of an addition under King William and Queen Mary. It seems that the *Triumphs* was sent immediately to Hampton Court Palace upon its arrival in England, in late 1630 or 1631, though this is not certain. Inventories from the time of Oliver Cromwell and King Charles II confirm that the *Triumphs* remained in the Long Gallery in the 1650s and 1660s. It is possible that at some point during this period, one or more of the canvases were sent to the Mortlake Factory for the production of tapestries.
[6] This according to historian Ernest Law.

Figures

Figure 0.1: Andrea Mantegna, *Triumphs of Caesar: I, The Picture Bearers*, ca. 1480-1506, tempera on canvas, 270.3 x 280.7 cm, Hampton Court Palace, The Royal Collection, RCIN 403958

Figure 0.2: Andrea Mantegna, *Triumphs of Caesar: II, The Bearers of Standards and Siege Equipment*, ca. 1480-1506, tempera on canvas, 270.3 x 281.1 cm, Hampton Court Palace, The Royal Collection, RCIN 403959

Figure 0.3: Andrea Mantegna, *Triumphs of Caesar: III, The Bearers of Trophies and Bullion*, ca. 1480-1506, tempera on canvas, 270.3 x 280.5 cm, Hampton Court Palace, The Royal Collection, RCIN 403960

Figure 0.4: Andrea Mantegna, *Triumphs of Caesar: IV, The Vase Bearers*, ca. 1480-1506, tempera on canvas, 269.5 x 280 cm, Hampton Court Palace, The Royal Collection, RCIN 403961

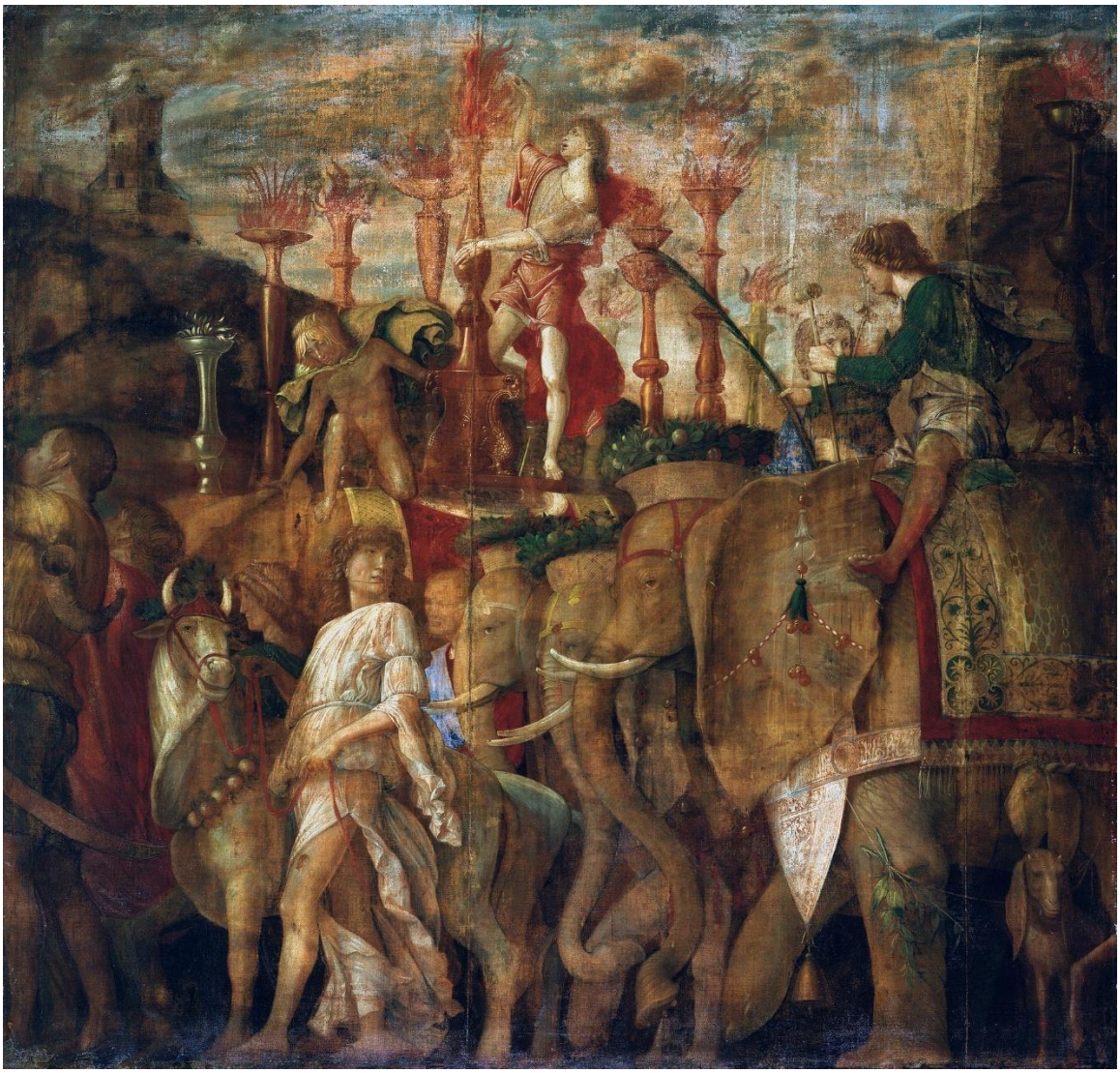

Figure 0.5: Andrea Mantegna, *Triumphs of Caesar: V, The Elephants*, ca. 1480-1506, tempera on canvas, 270 x 280.7 cm, Hampton Court Palace, The Royal Collection, RCIN 403962

Figure 0.6: Andrea Mantegna, *Triumphs of Caesar: VI, The Corselet Bearers*, ca. 1480-1506, tempera on canvas, 270.8 x 280.4 cm, Hampton Court Palace, The Royal Collection, RCIN 403963

Figure 0.7: Andrea Mantegna, *Triumphs of Caesar: VII, The Captives*, ca. 1480-1506, tempera on canvas, 270 x 280.2 cm, Hampton Court Palace, The Royal Collection, RCIN 403964

Figure 0.8: Andrea Mantegna, *Triumphs of Caesar: VIII, The Musicians*, ca. 1480-1506, tempera on canvas, 270.2 x 280.5 cm, Hampton Court Palace, The Royal Collection, RCIN 403965

Figure 0.9: Andrea Mantegna, *Triumphs of Caesar: IX, Caesar on his Chariot*, ca. 1480-1506, tempera on canvas, 270.4 x 280.7 cm, Hampton Court Palace, The Royal Collection, RCIN 403966

Figure 1.1: attributed to Andrea Mantegna, *Self-Portrait*, late 15th c., bronze, porphyry, and Istrian stone, bust height 47 cm, roundel diameter 70 cm, Basilica of Sant'Andrea, Mantua

Figure 1.2: Andrea Mantegna, Camera Picta, 1465-1474, fresco, Castello di San Giorgio, Palazzo Ducale, Mantua

Figure 1.3: Andrea Mantegna, Camera Picta (ceiling), 1465-1474, fresco, Castello di San Giorgio, Palazzo Ducale, Mantua

Figure 1.4: *Faustina the Younger*, Roman, after 161 CE, marble, height 63 cm, The Royal Collection, RCIN 1299

Figure 1.5: Andrea Mantegna, *Ecce Homo*, ca. 1500, distemper (?) and gold on canvas, 54 x 42 cm, Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris, MJAP-P-1840

Figure 1.6: Andrea Mantegna, *The Dead Christ with the Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist*, mid-1470s, distemper (?) on canvas, 68 x 81 cm, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan, 352

Figure 1.7: Andrea Mantegna, *Parnassus*, ca. 1496-1497, egg tempera on canvas, 159 x 192 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris, 370

Figure 1.8: Andrea Mantegna, *Minerva Expelling the Vices from the Garden of Virtue*, ca. 1500-1502, egg tempera on canvas, 159 x 192 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris, 371

Figure 1.9: Lower Orangery, Hampton Court Palace, East Molesey

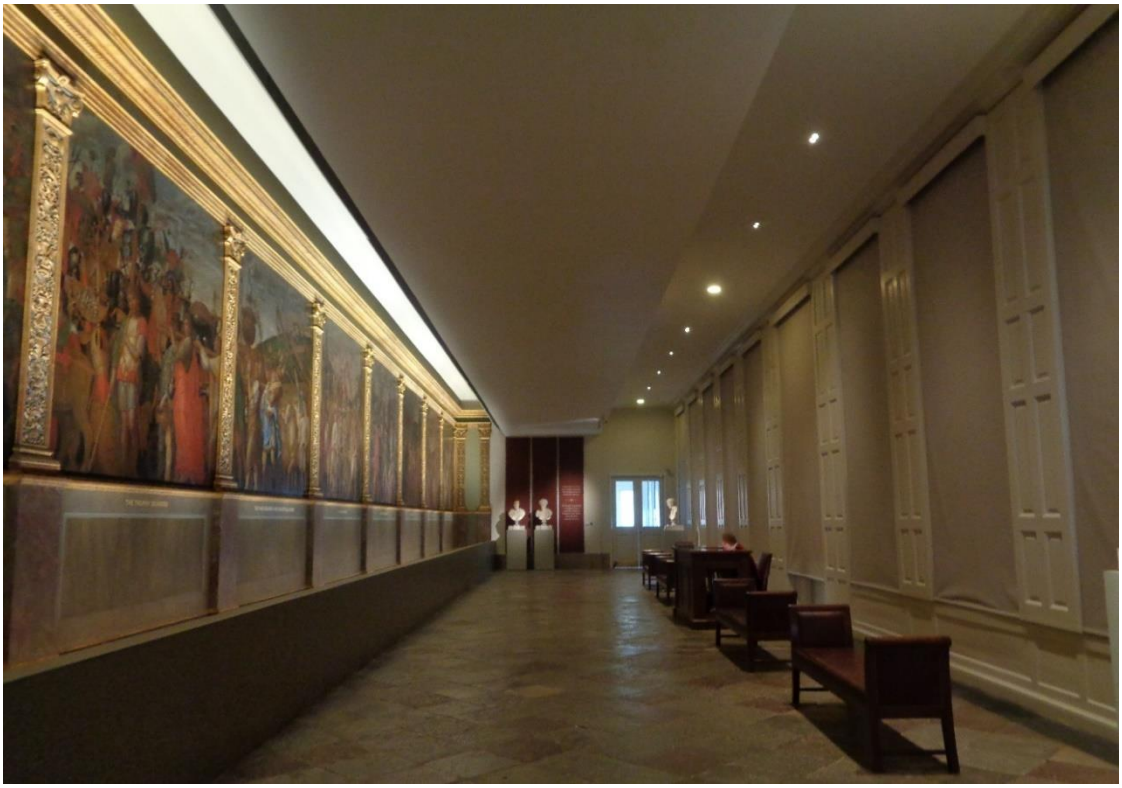

Figure 1.10: interior Lower Orangery, view of the *Triumphs of Caesar* by Andrea Mantegna, 43.3 x 5.6 m, Hampton Court Palace, East Molesey

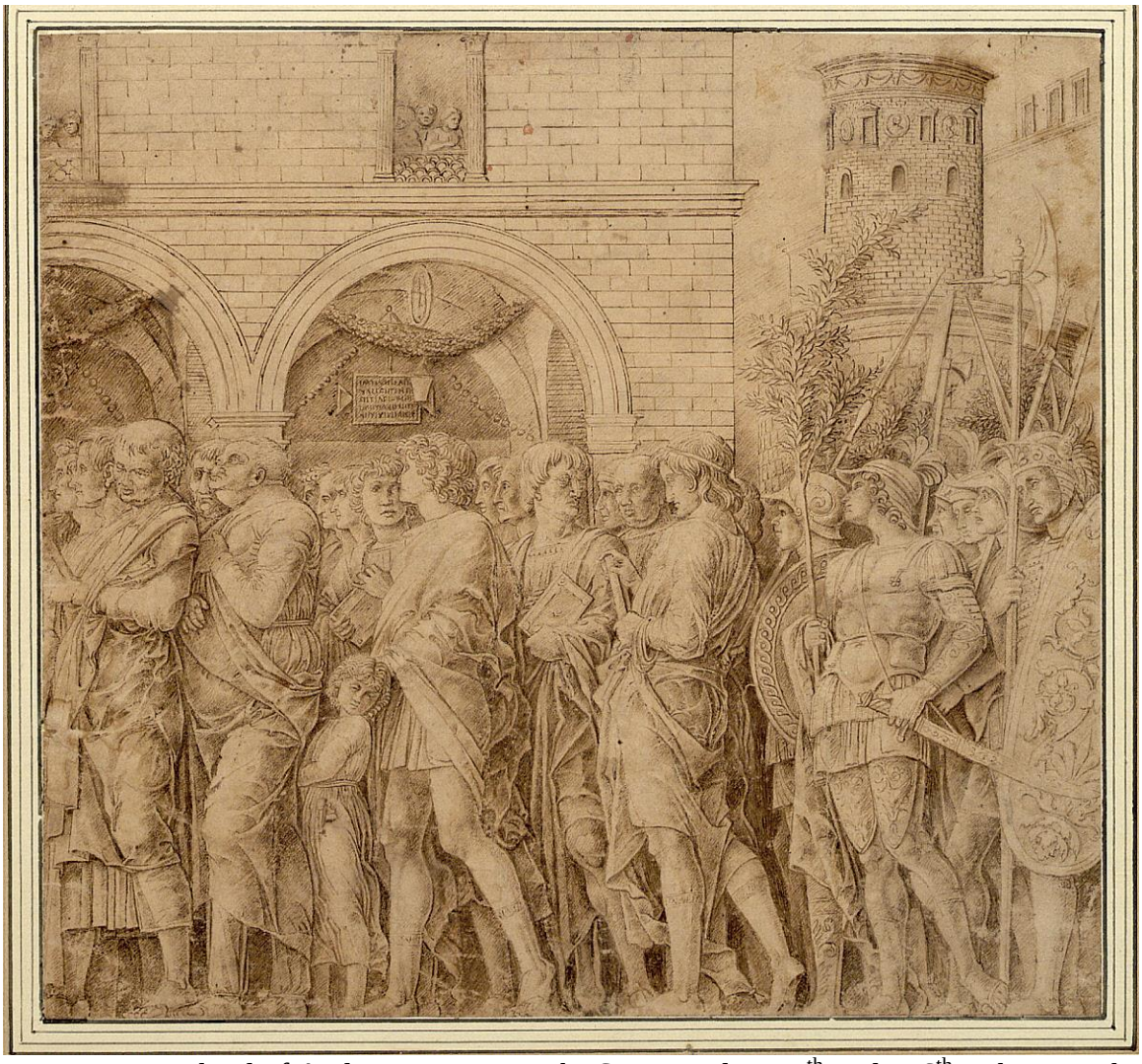

Figure 1.11: school of Andrea Mantegna, *The Senators*, late 15th-early 16th c., brown ink and pen on paper, 25.3 x 27.2 cm, Albertina, Vienna, 2585

Figure 1.12: detail of Figure 1.2

Figure 1.13: detail of Figure 0.9

Figure 1.14: detail of Figure 0.2

Figure 1.15: Andrea Mantegna, *The Trumpeters and Bearers of Painted Standards*, ca. 1486-1490, pen and brown ink on paper, 27.4 x 27.7 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris, Collection Edmond de Rothschild, 775 DR

Figure 1.16: Andrea Mantegna, *A Roman Triumph*, ca. 1475-1490, pen and ink on brown paper, 26.6 x 26.6 cm, private collection (from Caroline Campbell et al., *Mantegna & Bellini*, 2018)

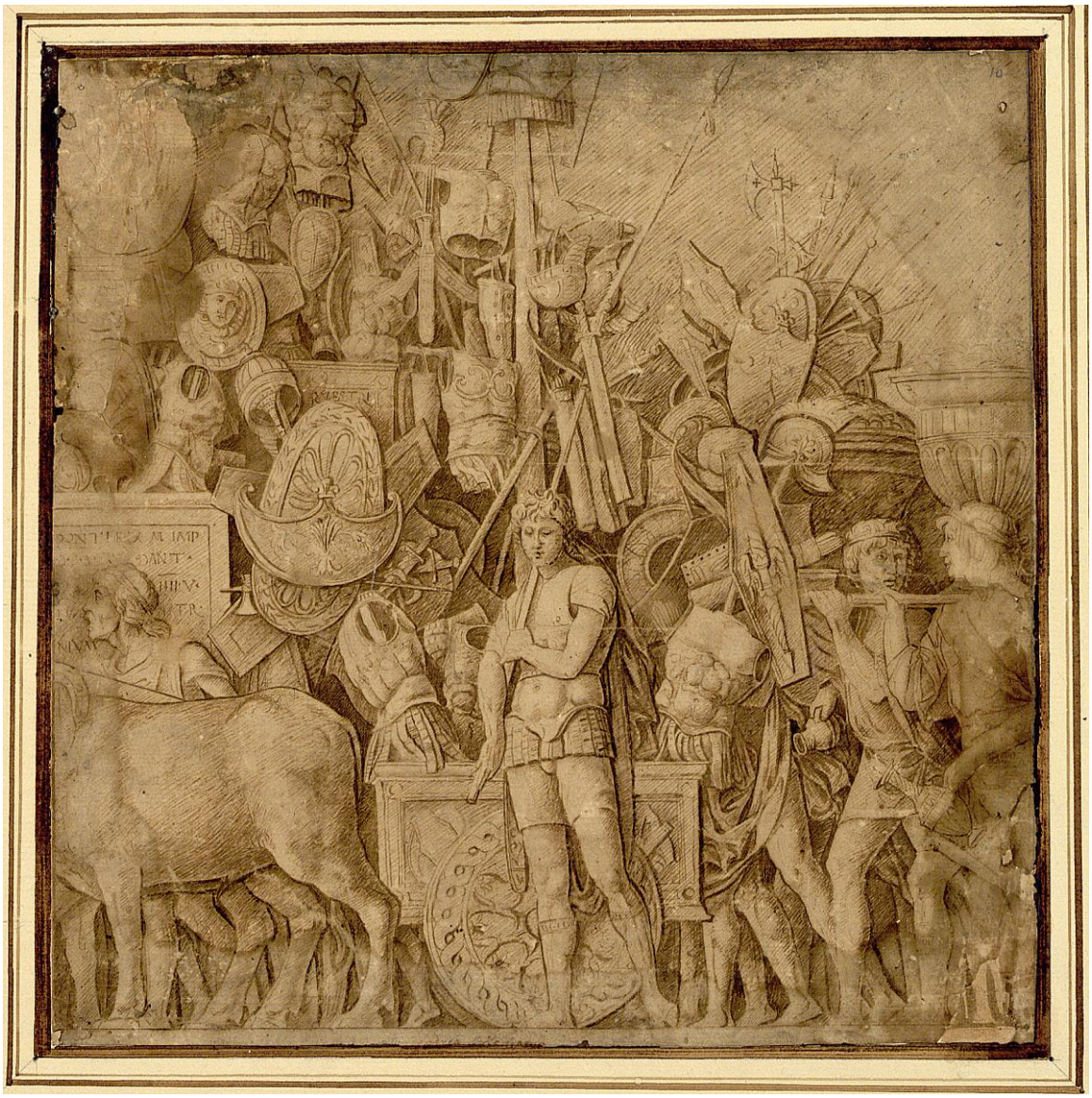

Figure 1.17: school of Andrea Mantegna, *Trophies of Arms and Booty*, late 15th-early 16th c., brown ink and pen on paper, 26.5 x 26.5 cm, Albertina, Vienna, 2584

Figure 1.18: after Andrea Mantegna, *The Corselet Bearers*, late 15th-early 16th c., ink and wash on paper, 26 x 26.2 cm, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, NGI.2187

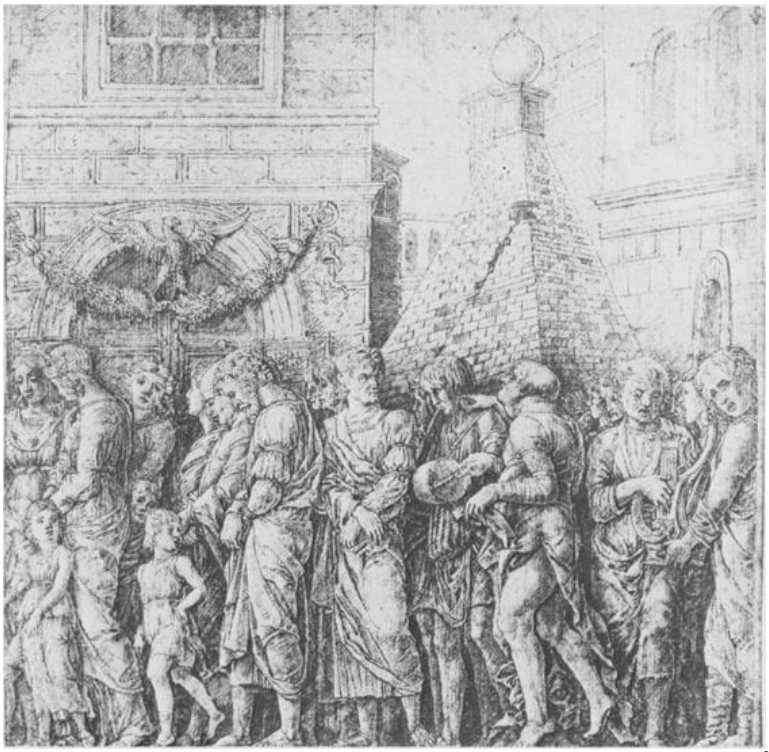

Figure 1.19: after Andrea Mantegna, *The Captives*, late 15th-early 16th c., pen and brown ink on paper, 26.5 x 27.3 cm, Musée Condé, Chantilly, DE 116

Figure 1.20: after Andrea Mantegna, *The Triumphal Chariot*, ca. 1500, pen and brown ink on paper, 26.2 x 27.3 cm, British Museum, London, 1895,0915.773

Figure 1.21: after Andrea Mantegna, *The Elephants*, late 15th-early 16th c., engraving drawn over in pen and ink, 25.1 x 26 cm, private collection (from Suzanne Boorsch, "The Elephants," 1993)

Figure 1.22: after Andrea Mantegna, *The Triumph of Caesar, with Three Elephants*, ca. 1470-1500, engraving, 26.8 x 26.5 cm, British Museum, London, V,1.59

Figure 1.23: after Andrea Mantegna, *The Triumph of Caesar, with Soldiers Carrying Trophies*, ca. 1470-1500, engraving, 28.4 x 25.5 cm, British Museum, London, 1845,0825.699

Figure 1.24: after Andrea Mantegna, *The Triumph of Caesar, with Senators Walking in Procession in Front of a Loggia*, ca. 1470-1500, engraving, 28.3 x 26.3 cm, British Museum, London, 1834,0804.344

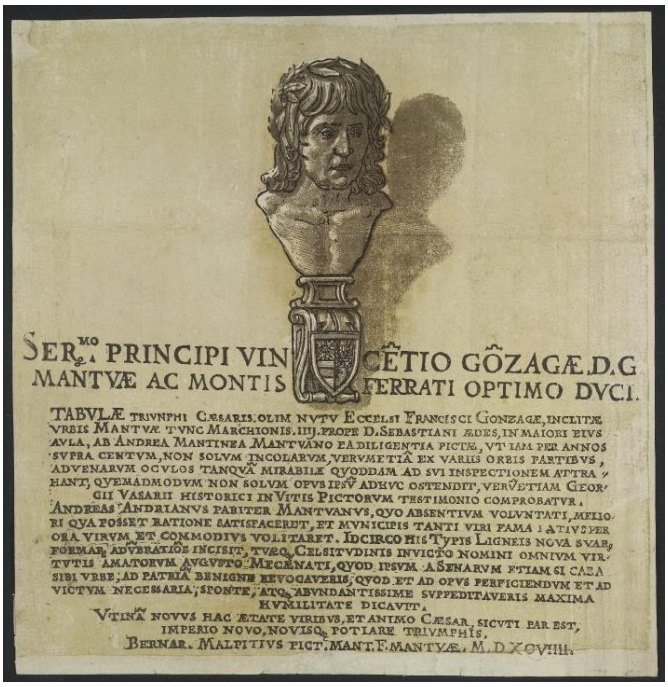

Figure 1.25: Andrea Andreani, after Andrea Mantegna, *Frontispiece to the Triumph of Julius Caesar depicting a bust portrait of Mantegna*, 1599, chiaroscuro woodcut, 35.5 x 36.3 cm, British Museum, London, 1895,0122.1246

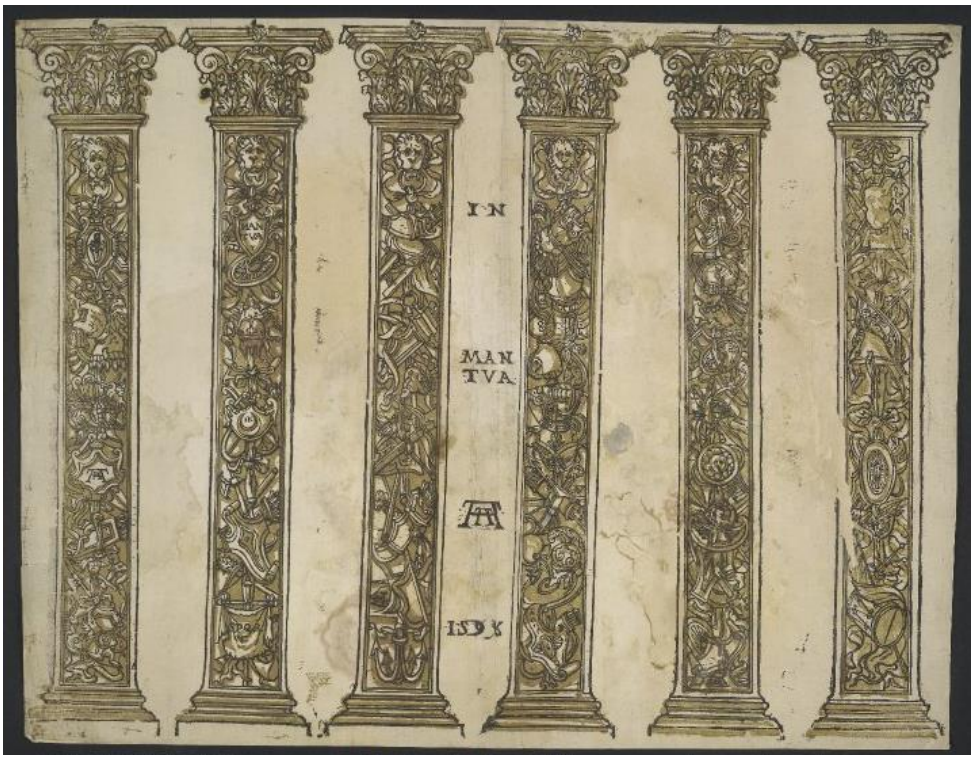

Figure 1.26: Andrea Andreani, after Andrea Mantegna, *Six Corinthian pilasters for the Triumph of Julius Caesar*, 1598, chiaroscuro woodcut, 38.5 x 49.5 cm, British Museum, London, 1895,0408.56

Figure 1.27: Andrea Andreani, after Andrea Mantegna, *Triumph of Julius Caesar, The Picture Bearers*, 1599, chiaroscuro woodcut, 36.8 x 36.8 cm, British Museum, London, 1895,0122.1247

Figure 1.28: Andrea Andreani, after Andrea Mantegna, *Triumph of Julius Caesar, The Bearers of Standards and Siege Equipment*, 1599, chiaroscuro woodcut, 38 x 37.4 cm, British Museum, London, 1895,0122.1248

Figure 1.29: Andrea Andreani, after Andrea Mantegna, *Triumph of Julius Caesar, The Bearers of Trophies and Bullion*, 1599, chiaroscuro woodcut, 38.2 x 37 cm, British Museum, London, 1895,0122.1249

Figure 1.30: Andrea Andreani, after Andrea Mantegna, *Triumph of Julius Caesar, The Vase Bearers*, 1599, chiaroscuro woodcut, 37.3 x 37.5 cm, British Museum, London, 1895,0122.1250

Figure 1.31: Andrea Andreani, after Andrea Mantegna, *Triumph of Julius Caesar, The Elephants*, 1599, chiaroscuro woodcut, 38.3 x 37.2 cm, British Museum, London, 1895,0122.1251

Figure 1.32: Andrea Andreani, after Andrea Mantegna, *Triumph of Julius Caesar, The Corselet Bearers*, 1599, chiaroscuro woodcut, 38.3 x 36.7, British Museum, London, 1895,0122.1252

Figure 1.33: Andrea Andreani, after Andrea Mantegna, *Triumph of Julius Caesar, The Captives*, 1599, chiaroscuro woodcut, 38.5 x 37 cm, British Museum, London, 1895,0122.1253

Figure 1.34: Andrea Andreani, after Andrea Mantegna, *Triumph of Julius Caesar, The Musicians*, 1599, chiaroscuro woodcut, 38 x 36.5 cm, British Museum, London, 1895,0122.1254

Figure 1.35: Andrea Andreani, after Andrea Mantegna, *Triumph of Julius Caesar, Caesar on his Chariot*, 1599, chiaroscuro woodcut, 38.5 x 37.2 cm, British Museum, London, 1895,0122.1255

Figure 1.36: after Andrea Mantegna, *Triumphs of Caesar (Canvas IV and VIII)*, ca. 1590-1620, paper on canvas, 38 x 38 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 300 and 305

Figure 1.37: Ludovico Dondi (?), after Andrea Mantegna, *Triumphs of Caesar*, early 17th c., fresco, Palazzo San Sebastiano, Mantua

Figure 1.38: *Spoils of Jerusalem*, detail from Arch of Titus, after 81 CE, marble, Rome

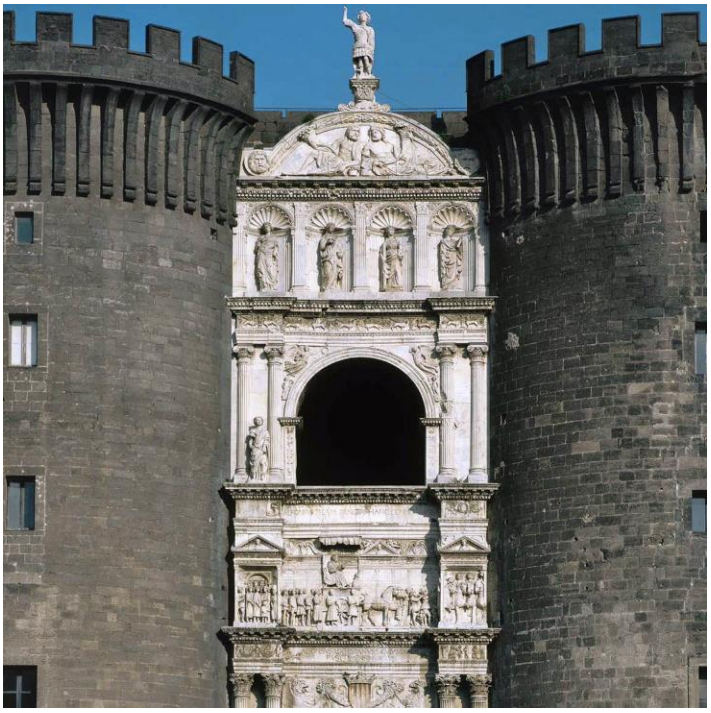

Figure 1.39: Triumphal Arch of Alfonso I, 1453-1458 and 1465-1471, Castel Nuovo, Naples

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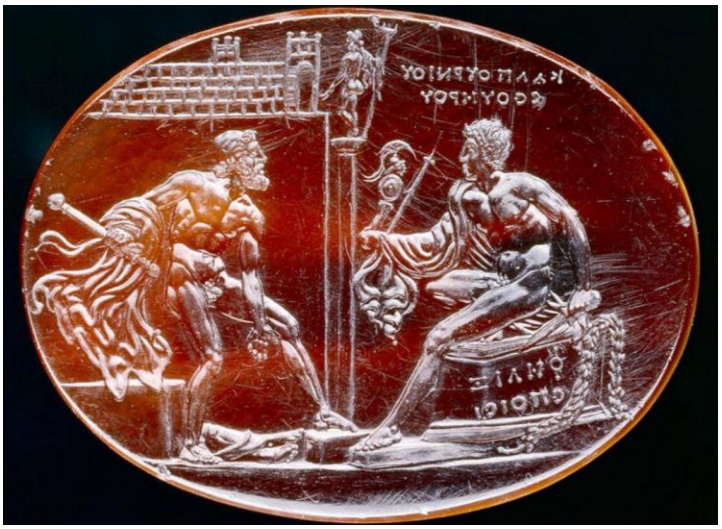

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Figure 1.50: attributed to Girolamo da Cremona, *Triumphs of Love, Chastity, and Death* and *Triumphs of Fame, Time, and Divinity*, ca. 1460s, oil on panel, 54.3 x 155 cm and 52.1 x 153.6 cm, Denver Art Museum, Denver, 1961.169.1 and 1961.169.2

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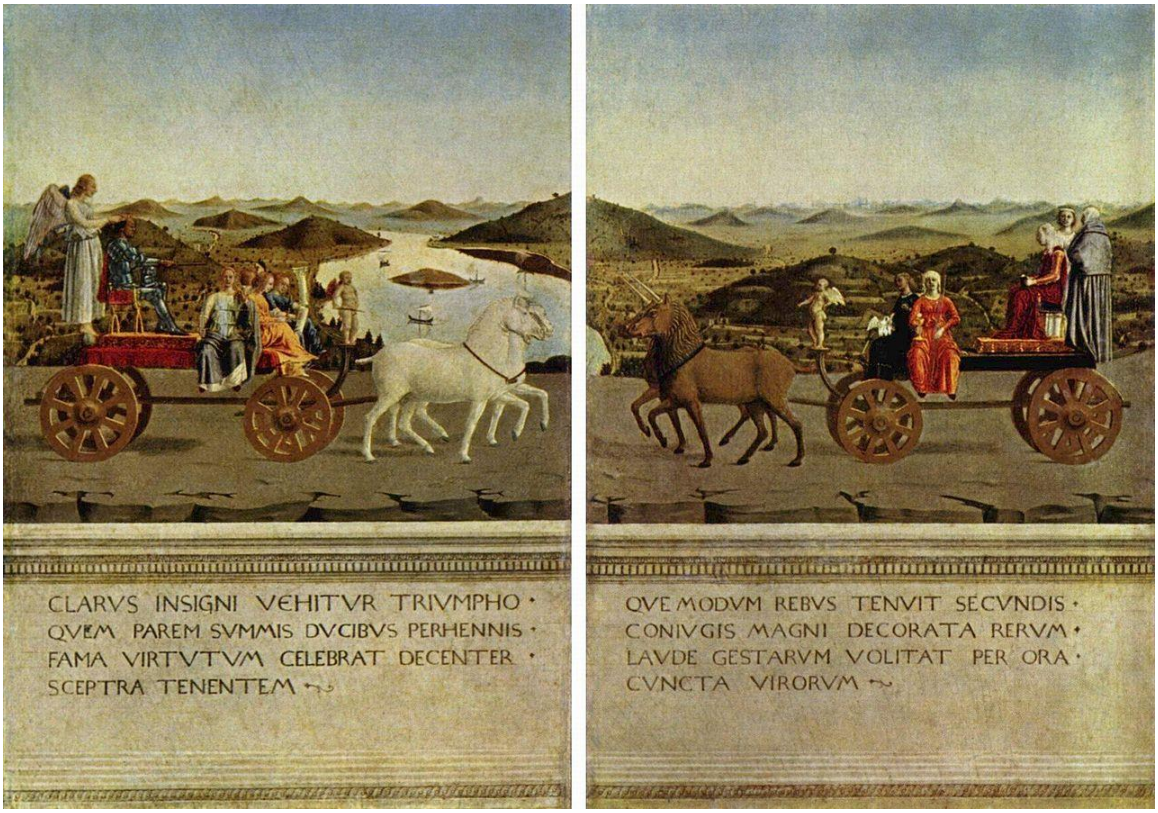

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Figure 1.55: detail of Figure 1.54

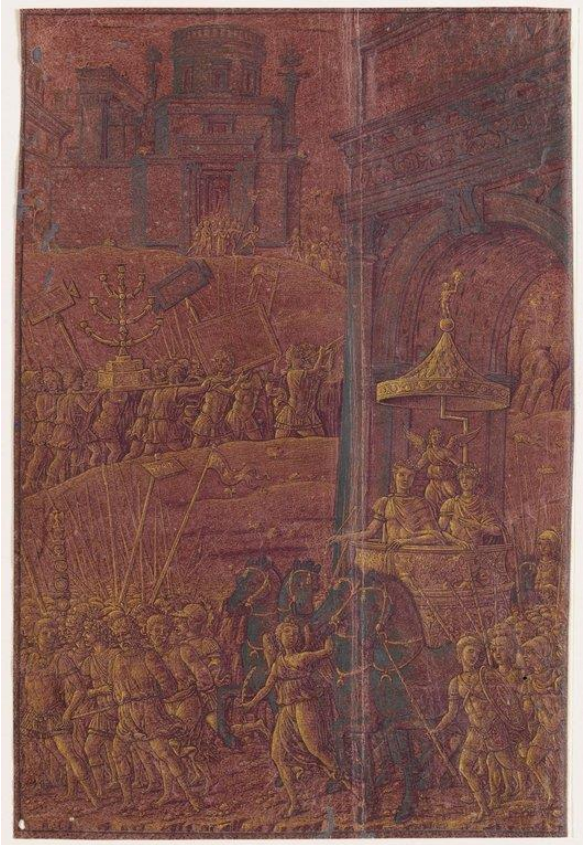

Figure 1.56: attributed to Gaspare da Padova, *Triumph of Titus and Vespasian*, ca. 1475, gold and silverpoint on purple parchment, 24.5 x 16.4 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris, Collection Edmond de Rothschild, 774 DR

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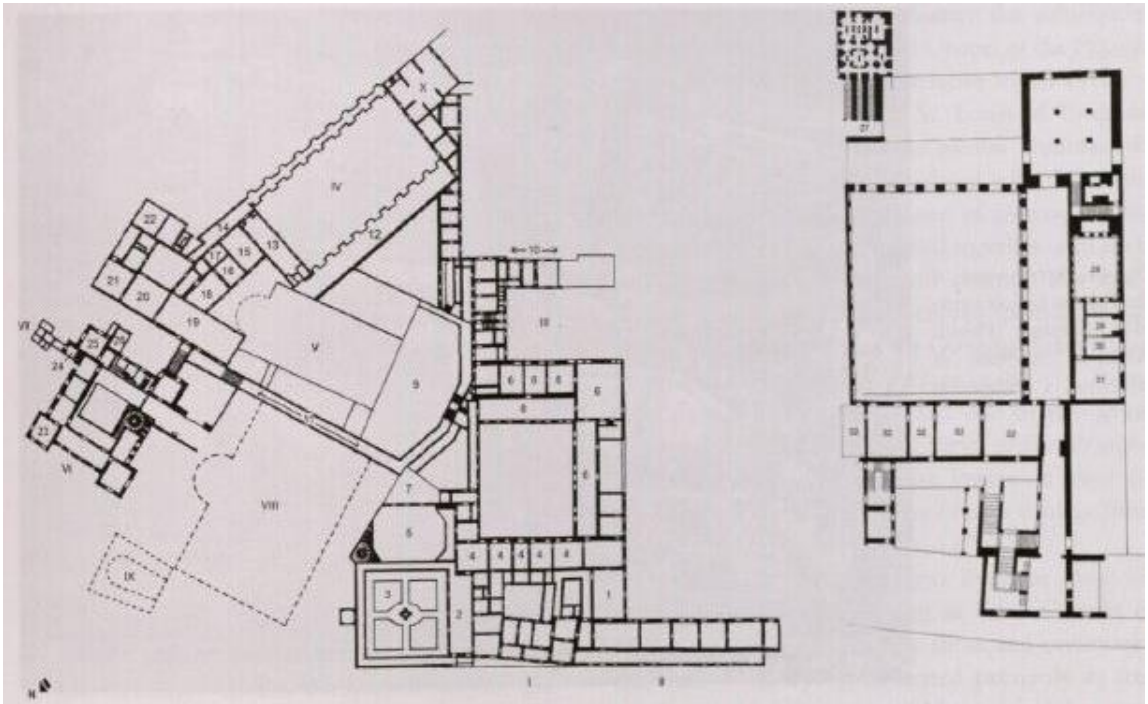

Plan of the Palazzo Ducale, Mantua

I Magna Domus
II Palazzo del Capitano
III Domus Nova
IV Cortile della Cavallerizza (or della Mostra)
V Santa Barbara
VI Castello di San Giogrio
VII Palazzina Paleologa
VIII Prato di Castello
IX Ex-theater
X La Rustica

Corte Vecchia

1 Sala del Pisanello
2 Sala dei Fiumi
3 Giardino Pensile
4 Stanze degli Arazzi
5 Cortile delle Otto Facce
6 Appartamento Ducale
7 Sala dello Specchio
8 Galleria degli Specchi (ex-logion serato)
9 Piazza Santa Barbara
10 Appartamento del Paradiso

Corte Nuova and Castello di San Giorgio

11 Corridor of Santa Barbara
12 Galleria della Mostra
13 Galleria dei Mesi
14 Loggia di Eleonora
15 Sala di Troia
16 Sala delle Teste Appartamento
17 Gabinetto dei Cesari di Troia
18 Camera dei Cavalli
19 Sala di Manto
20 Sala dei Capitani
21 Sala del Marchesi
22 Sala dei Duchi
23 Camera Picta (Camera degli Sposi)
24 First studiolo of Isabella d'Este
25 Sala degli Armi
26 Chapel

Corte Vecchia (ground floor)

27 Scala Santa
28 Giardino segreto of Isabella d'Este
29 Grotta of Isabella
30 Studiolo of Isabella
31 Sala della Scalcheria
32 Apartments of Isabella

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Figure 2.3: Castello di San Giorgio, part of the Palazzo Ducale, Mantua

Figure 2.4: Lodovico II Gonzaga (seated), detail of Figure 1.2

Figure 2.5: Federico I Gonzaga (far right), detail of Figure 1.2

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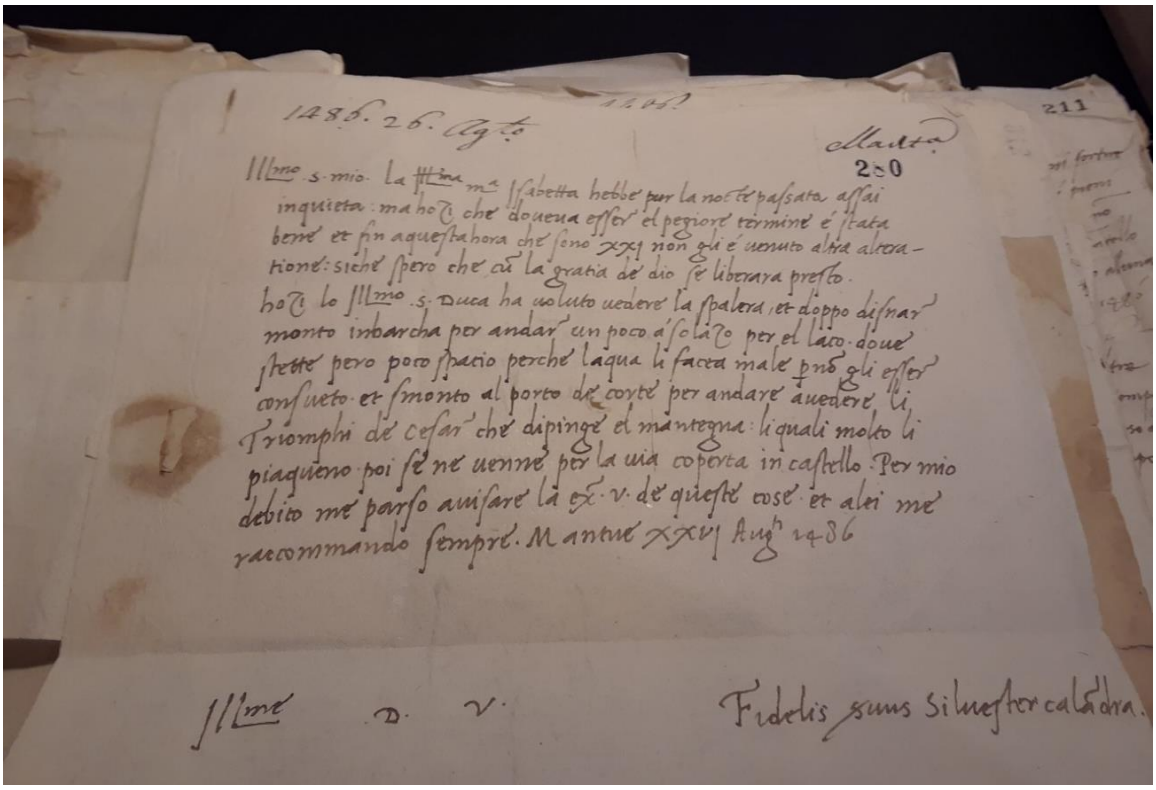
Figure 2.7: Pisanello, Sala del Pisanello, ca. 1447-1448, fresco and sinopia, Palazzo del Capitano, Palazzo Ducale, Mantua


1486. 26. Agto

Mantua

280

Illme s. mio. La Illma ma Isabetta hebbe per la notte passata assai inquieta: ma hoggi che doueua esser el peggiore termine è stata bene et fin a questa hora che sono XXIJ non gli è uenuto altra alteratione: sichè spero che cū la gratia de dio se liberara presto. Hoggi lo Illmo s. Duca ha uoluto uedere la spalera et doppo disnar monto in barcha per andar un poco a solaço per el lago doue stette pero poco spacio perchè laqua li faceva male pchè gli esser consueto et smonto al porto de corte per andare a uedere li Triomphi de cesar che dipinge el mantegna: liquali molto li piaqueno poi se ne uenne per la uia coperta in castello. Per mio debito me parso auisare la ex. v. de queste cose et alei me raccommando sempre. Mantue XXVJ Augs 1486

Illme D. V. Fidelis suus Siluester calādra.

Figure 2.8: Silvestro Calandra to Francesco II Gonzaga, August 26, 1486, Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Busta 2434, f. 280[r]

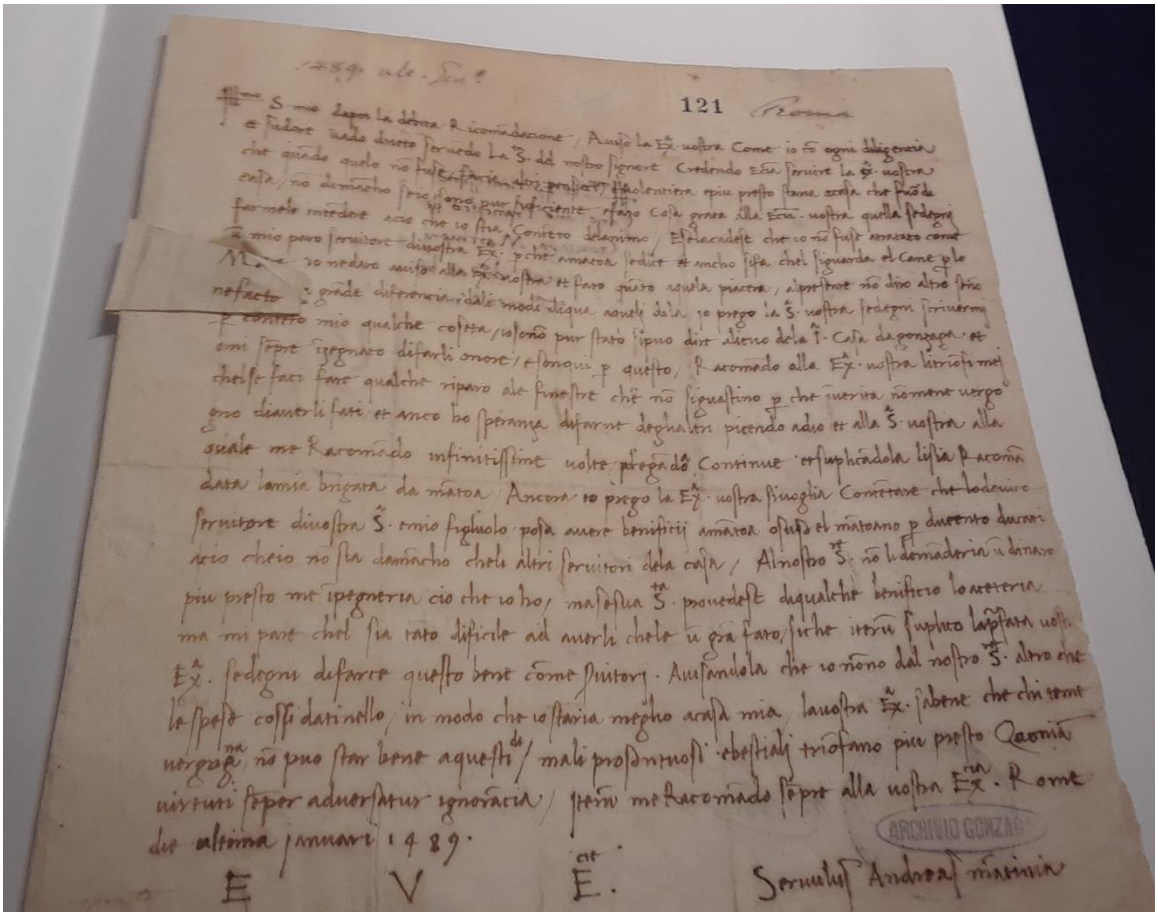


Figure 2.9: Andrea Mantegna to Francesco II Gonzaga, January 31, 1489, Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Serie Autografi, Casetta No. 7, f. 121[r]

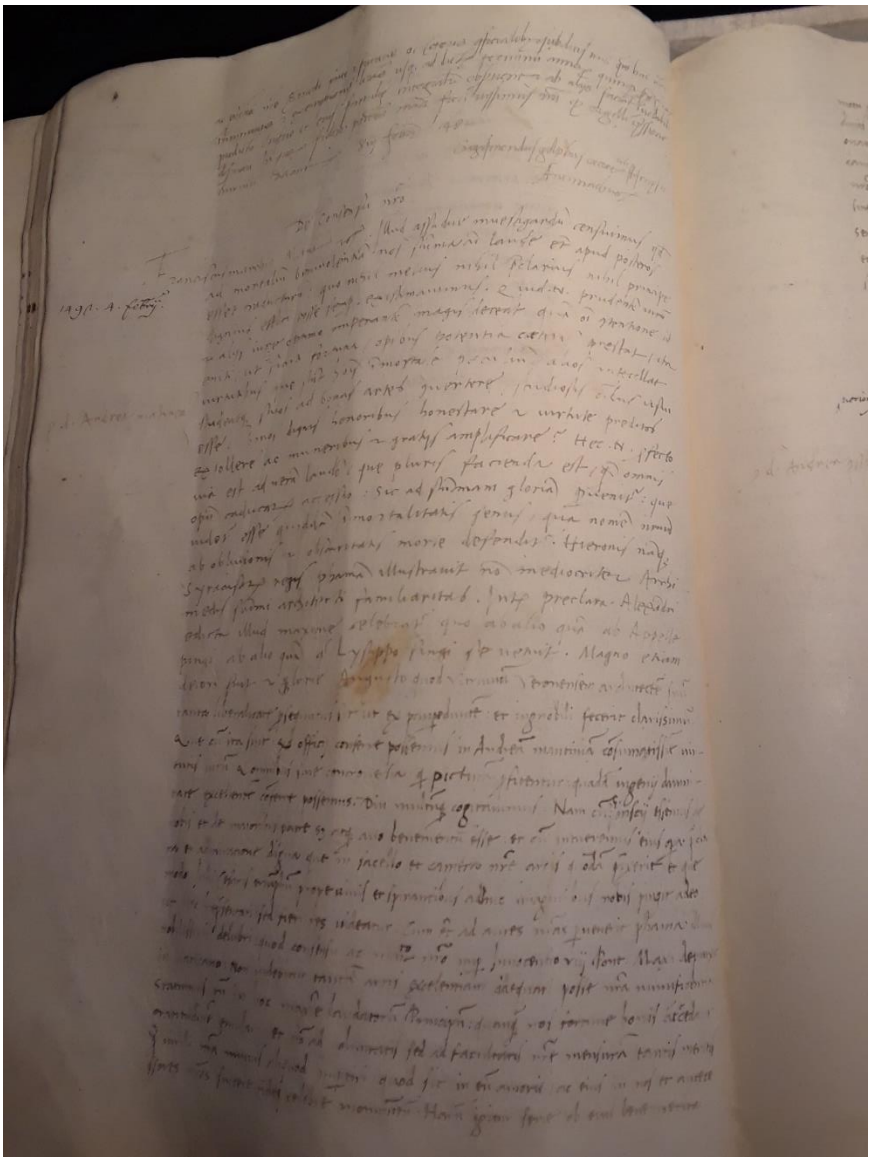


Figure 2.10: Decree by Francesco II Gonzaga, February 4, 1492, Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Libro dei decreti No. 24, f. 56^{v} et seq.

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Figure 2.18: Sala dei Trionfi, 32 x 7 m, Palazzo San Sebastiano, Mantua

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Figure 2.27: Sala Imperatorum, before 1417, Palazzo Trinci, Foligno

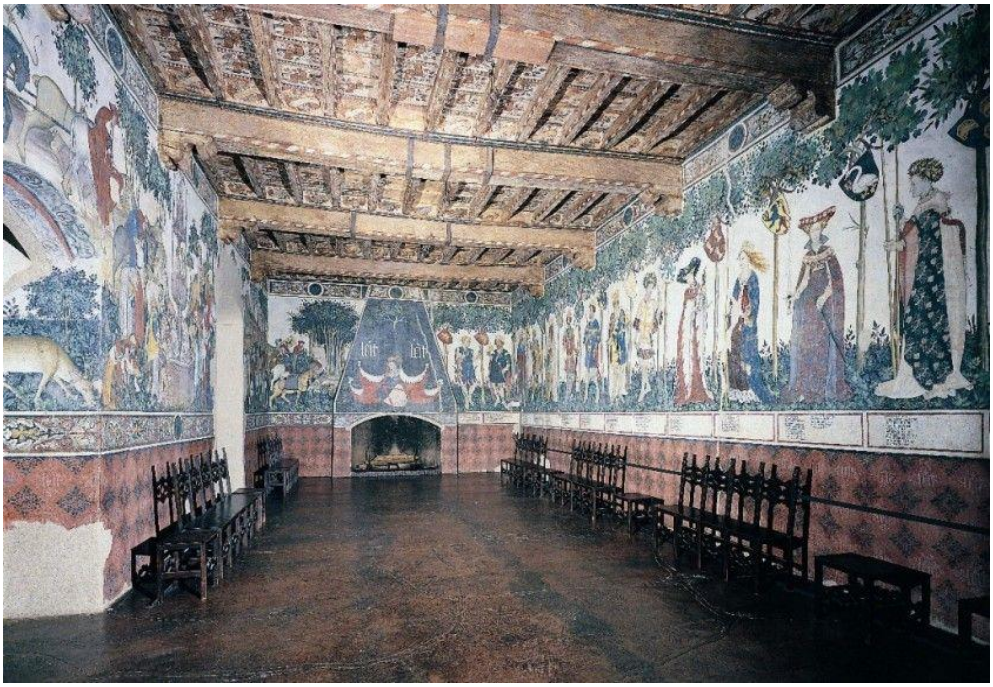

Figure 2.28: Master of La Manta, *Male and Female Worthies*, ca. 1419, fresco, Sala Baronale, Manta

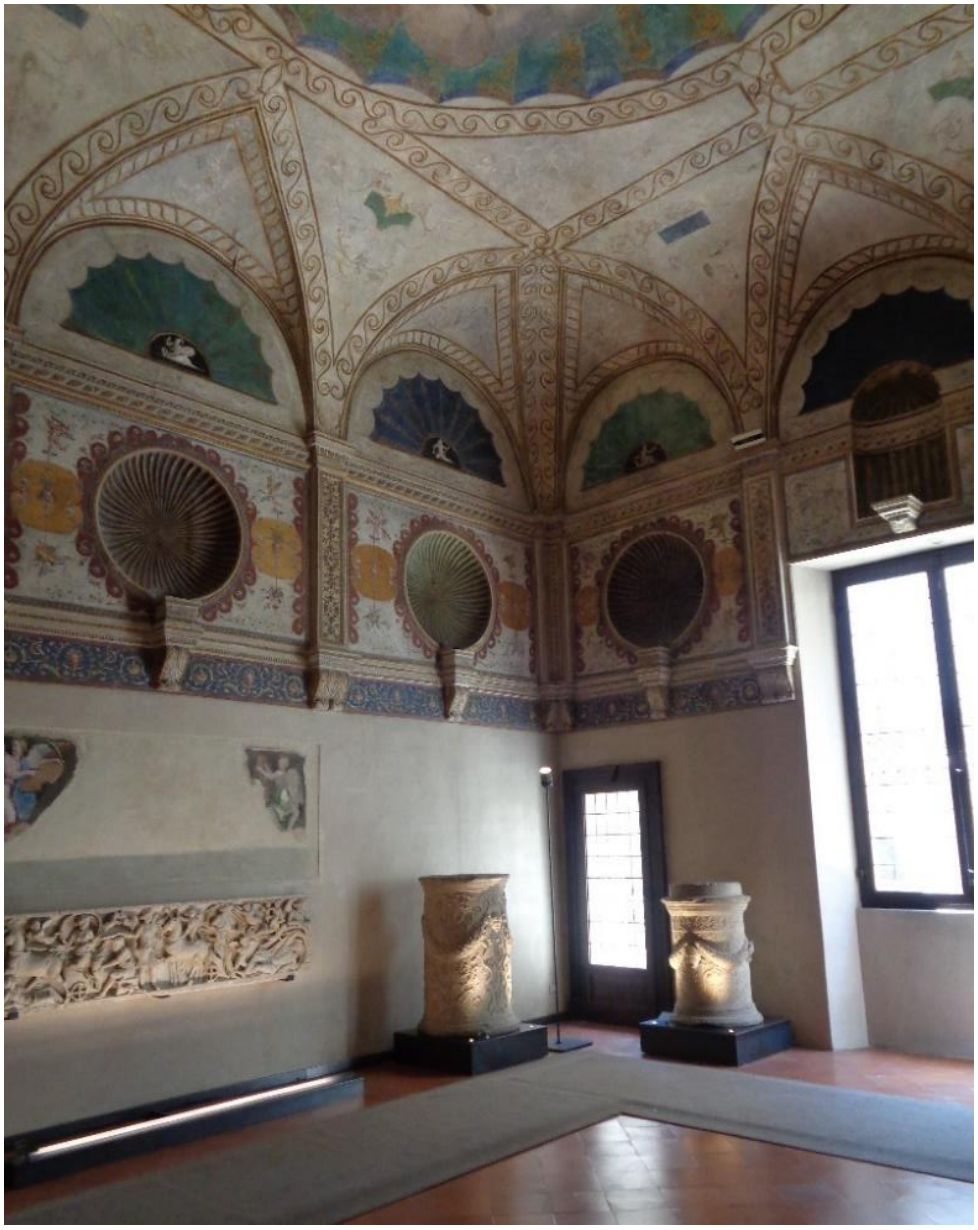

Figure 2.29: Camera delle Teste in the Corte Nuova, Palazzo Ducale, Mantua

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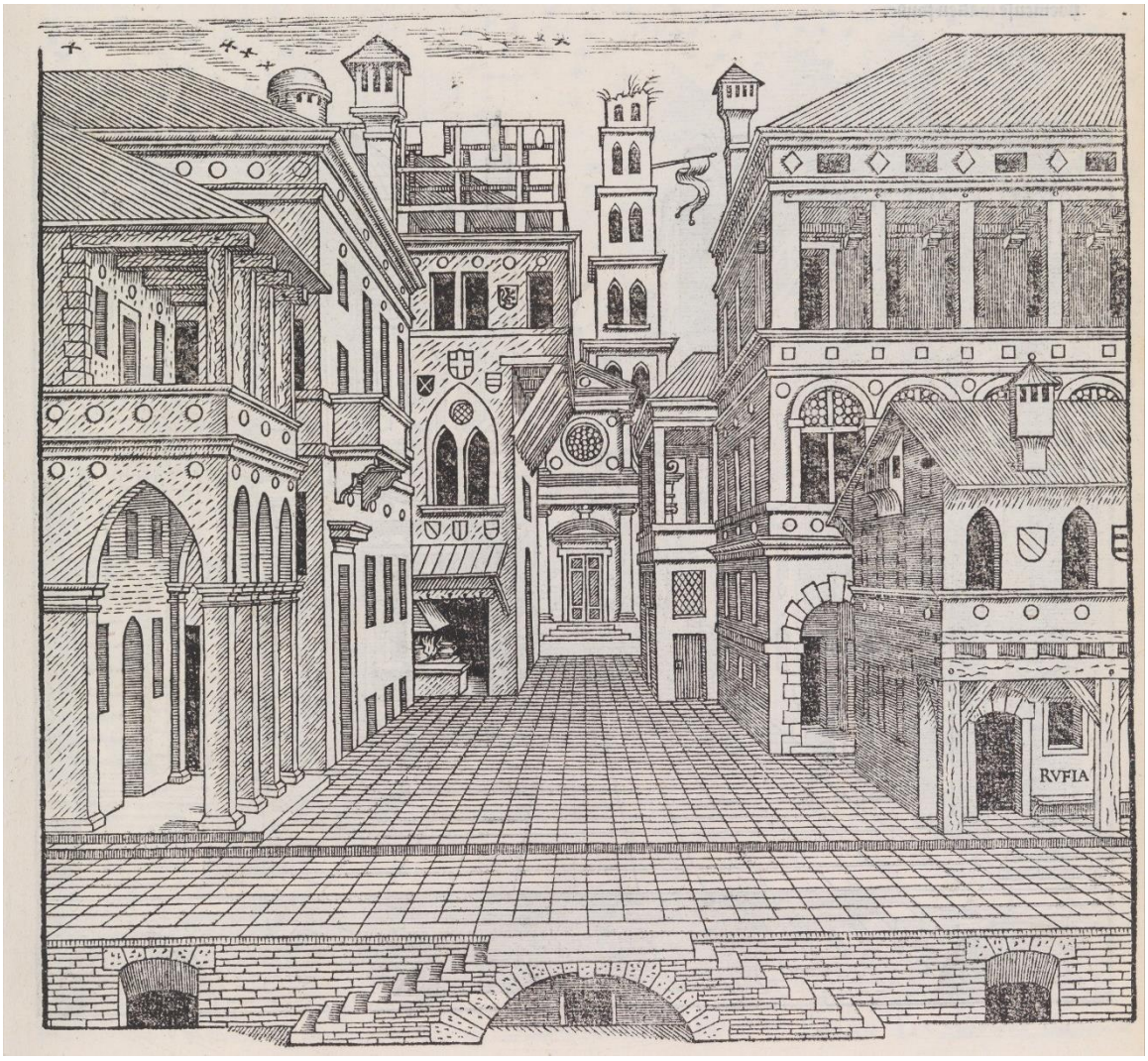

Figure 3.1: Sebastiano Serlio, "Comic scene," from *Architettura*, first published 1545, this edition 1553, printed book with woodcut illustrations, full page 33.7 x 23.5 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, 41.100.143

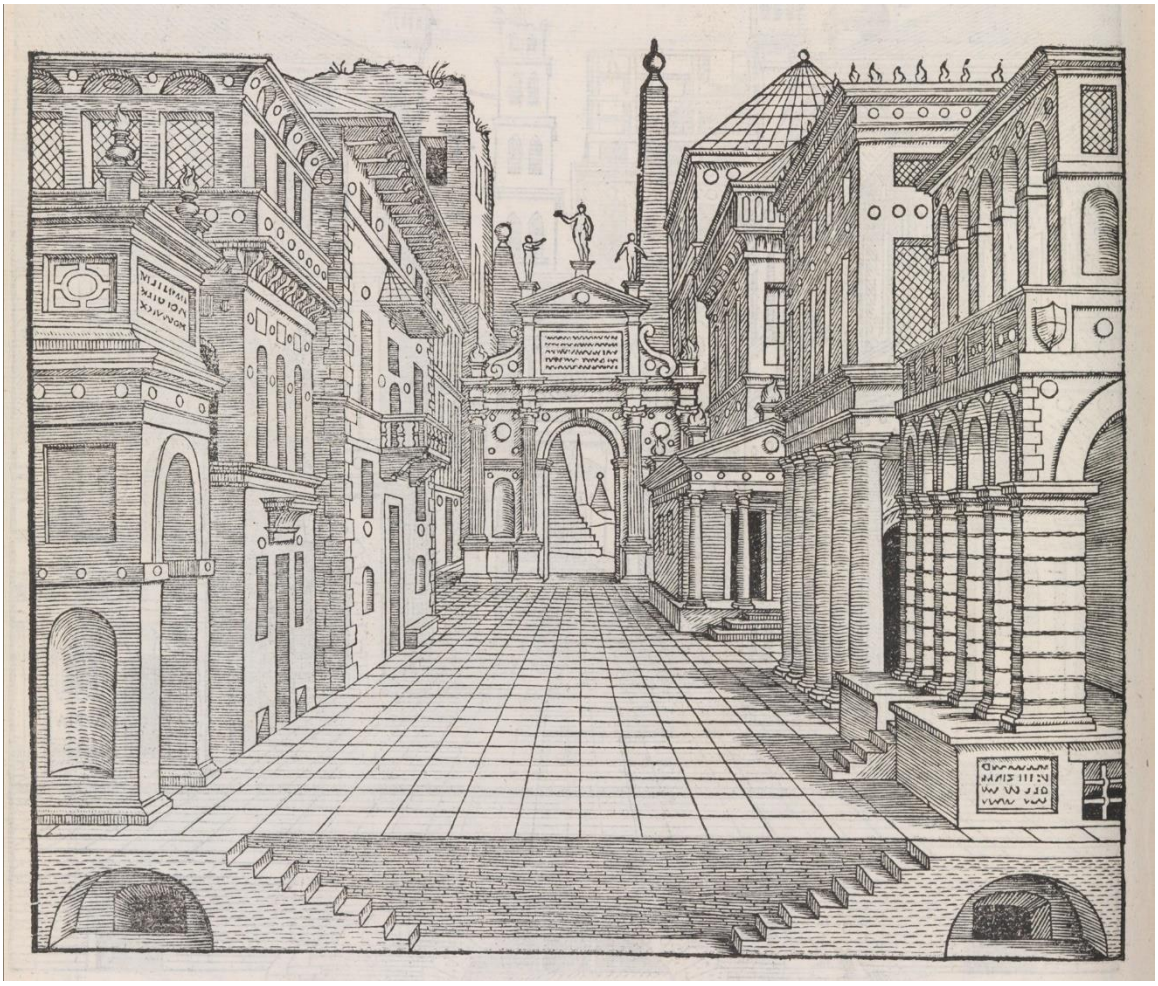

Figure 3.2: Sebastiano Serlio, “Tragic scene,” from *Architettura*, first published 1545, this edition 1553, printed book with woodcut illustrations, full page 33.7 x 23.5 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, 41.100.143

Figure 3.3: Sebastiano Serlio, "Satiric scene," from *Architettura*, first published 1545, this edition 1553, printed book with woodcut illustrations, full page 33.7 x 23.5 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, 41.100.143

Figure 3.4: Palazzo della Ragione, Mantua

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Figure 3.6: Santa Maria della Vittoria, Mantua

Figure 3.7: Tempio di San Sebastiano, Mantua

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Figure 4.2: Daniel Mytens, *Thomas Howard, 14th Earl of Arundel*, ca. 1618, oil on canvas, 207 x 127 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 5292

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Figure 4.4: Raphael, *Acts of the Apostles: The Miraculous Draught of Fishes*, ca. 1515-1516, bodycolor over charcoal on paper mounted on canvas, 319 x 399 cm, The Royal Collection, RCIN 912944

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Figure 4.6: Correggio, *Venus with Mercury and Cupid ('The School of Love')*, ca. 1525, oil on canvas, 155.6 x 91.4 cm, The National Gallery, London, NG 10

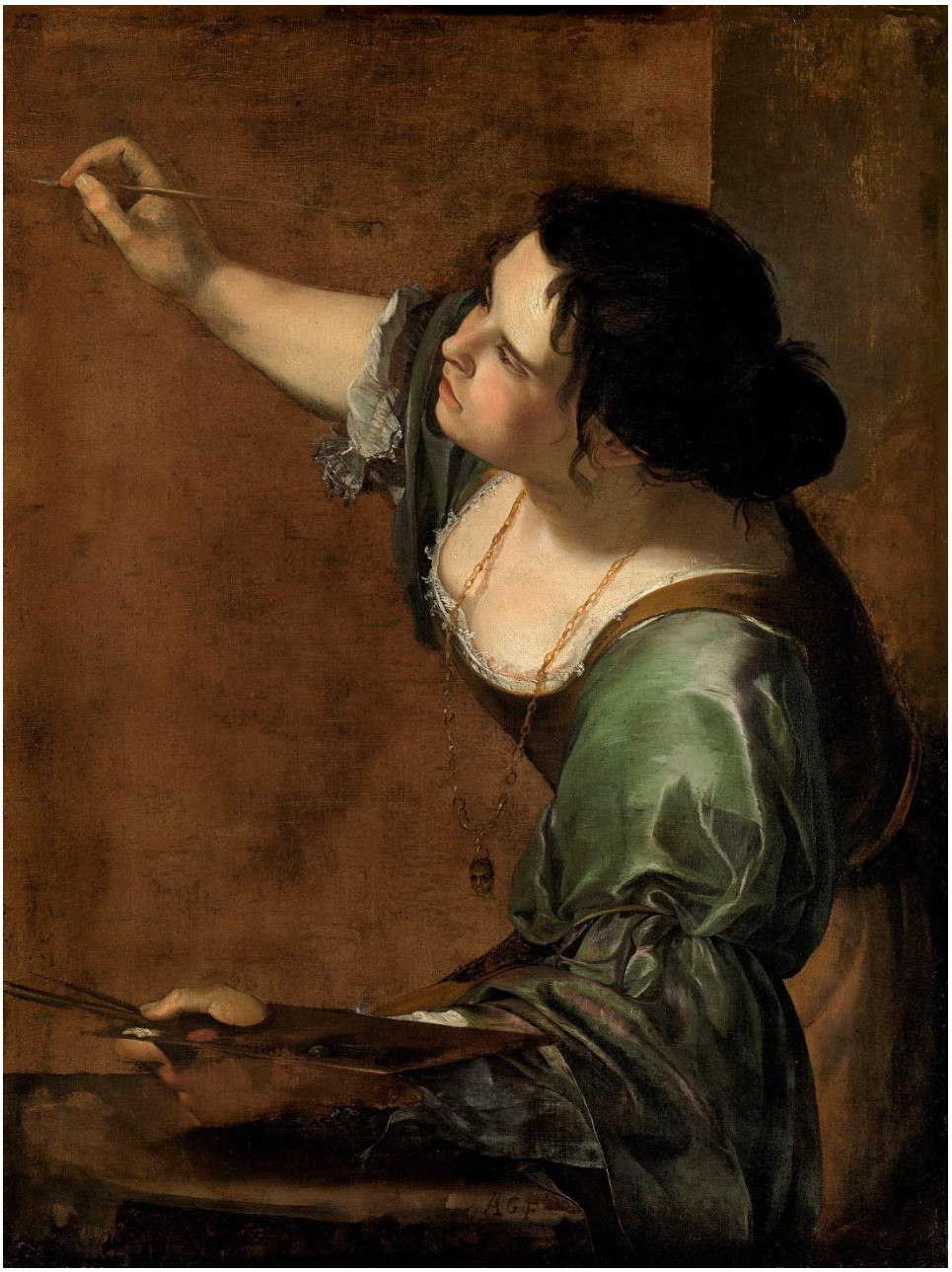

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Figure 4.9: Peter Paul Rubens, Banqueting House ceiling, installed 1636, oil on canvas, London

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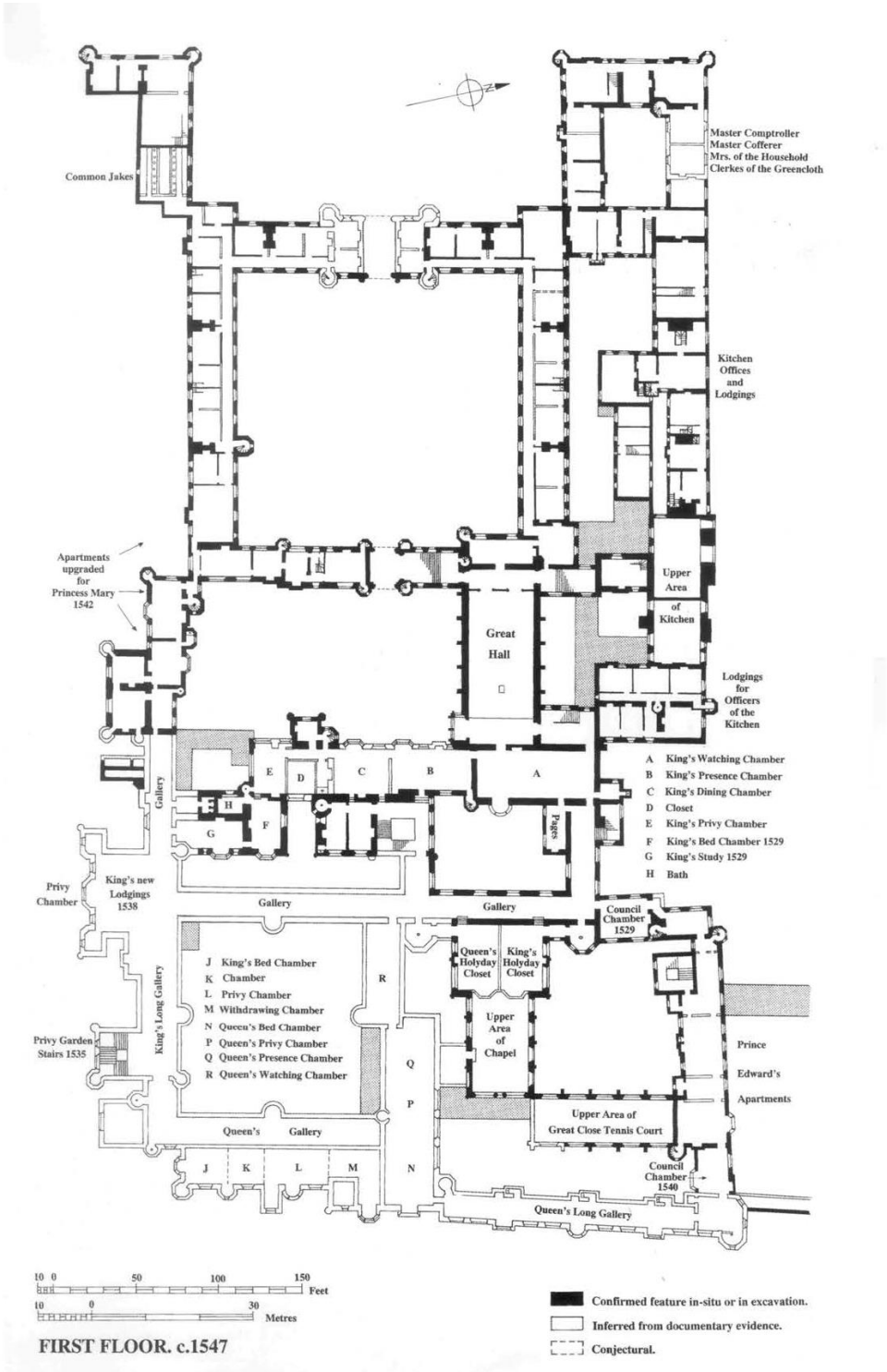

Figure 4.12: drawing by Daphne Ford, reconstructed plan of Hampton Court Palace ca. 1547 (from Simon Thurley, *Hampton Court: A Social and Architectural History*, 2003)

Figure 4.13: Tudor exterior, Hampton Court Palace, East Molesey

Figure 4.14: Christopher Wren Baroque exterior, Hampton Court Palace, East Molesey

Figure 4.15: Great Hall, 32.3 x 12.2 m, Hampton Court Palace, East Molesey

Figure 4.16: Anthony van Dyck, *Charles I and Henrietta Maria with Prince Charles and Princess Mary ('The Greate Peece')*, 1632, oil on canvas, 303.8 x 256.5 cm, The Royal Collection, RCIN 405353

Figure 4.17: Long Gallery, tapestry decorations late 16th c., painted portraits added early 17th c., length 50.6 m, Hardwick Hall, Chesterfield

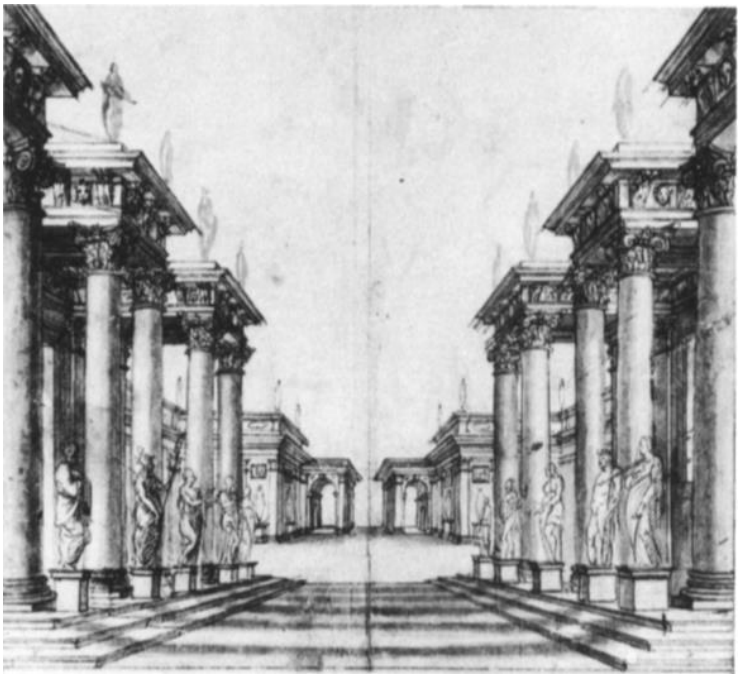

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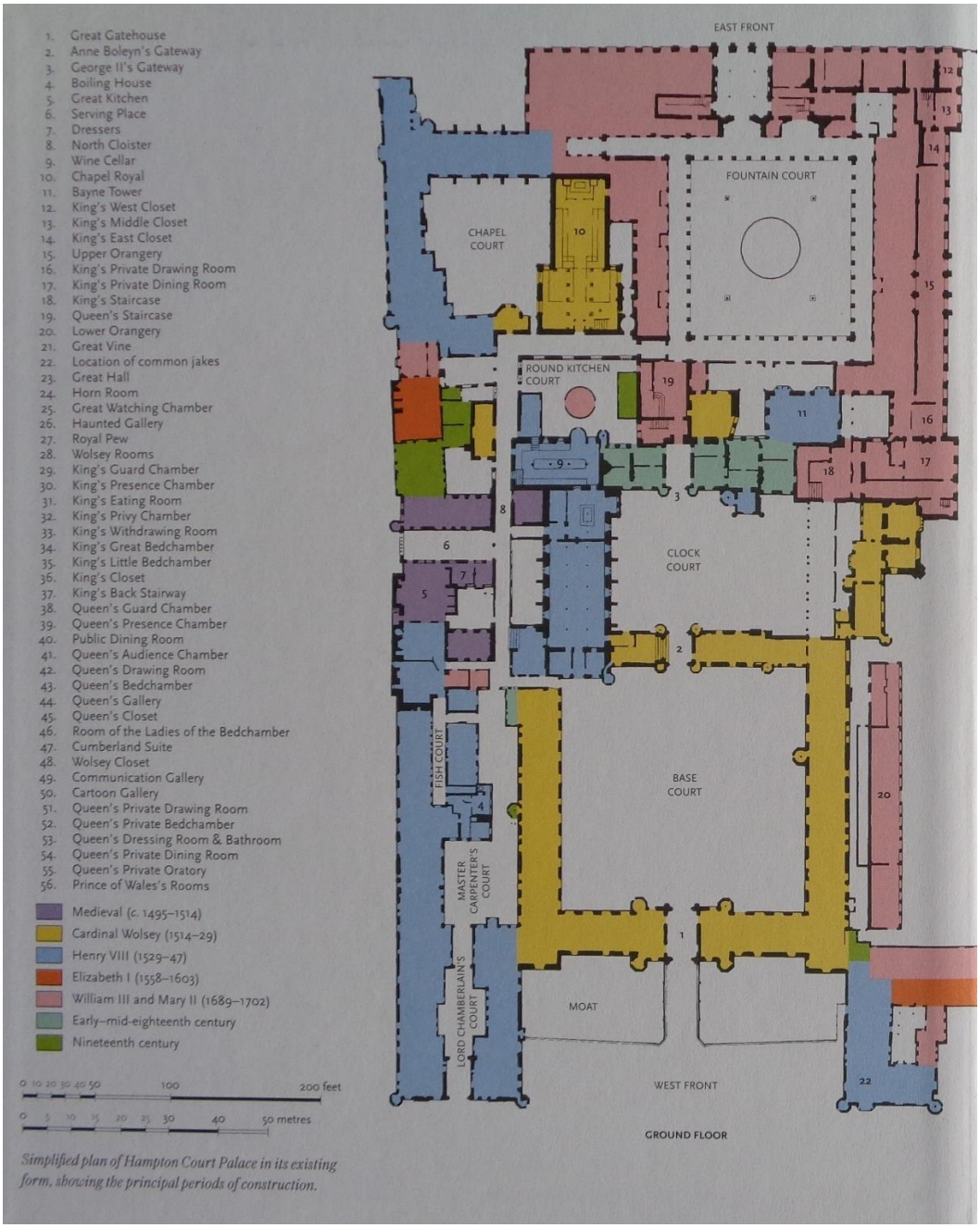
Figure 4.19: Anthony van Dyck, *Charles I and the Knights of the Garter in Procession*, ca. 1639-1640, oil on panel, 29.2 x 130.8 cm, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, A1247

Figure 4.20: Mortlake Tapestry Workshop, after Andrea Mantegna, *Triumphs of Caesar*, 1670s, Bowhill House, Selkirk, Scotland

Figure 4.21: Peter Lely, *Portrait of Oliver Cromwell*, ca. 1653-1654, oil on canvas, 76.2 x 62.9 cm, Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, Birmingham, 1949-P 27

Figure 4.22: John Michael Wright, *King Charles II*, ca. 1660-1665, oil on canvas, 126.4 x 101 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 531

Figure 4.23: Wallerant Vaillant, after an unknown artist, *Queen Mary II and King William III*, 1677, mezzotint, 7.1 x 11.3 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG D9227



Simplified plan of Hampton Court Palace in its existing form, showing the principal periods of construction.

Figure 4.24: drawing by Jonathan Foyle, plan of Hampton Court Palace in its existing form (from David Souden and Lucy Worsley, *The Story of Hampton Court Palace*, 2015)

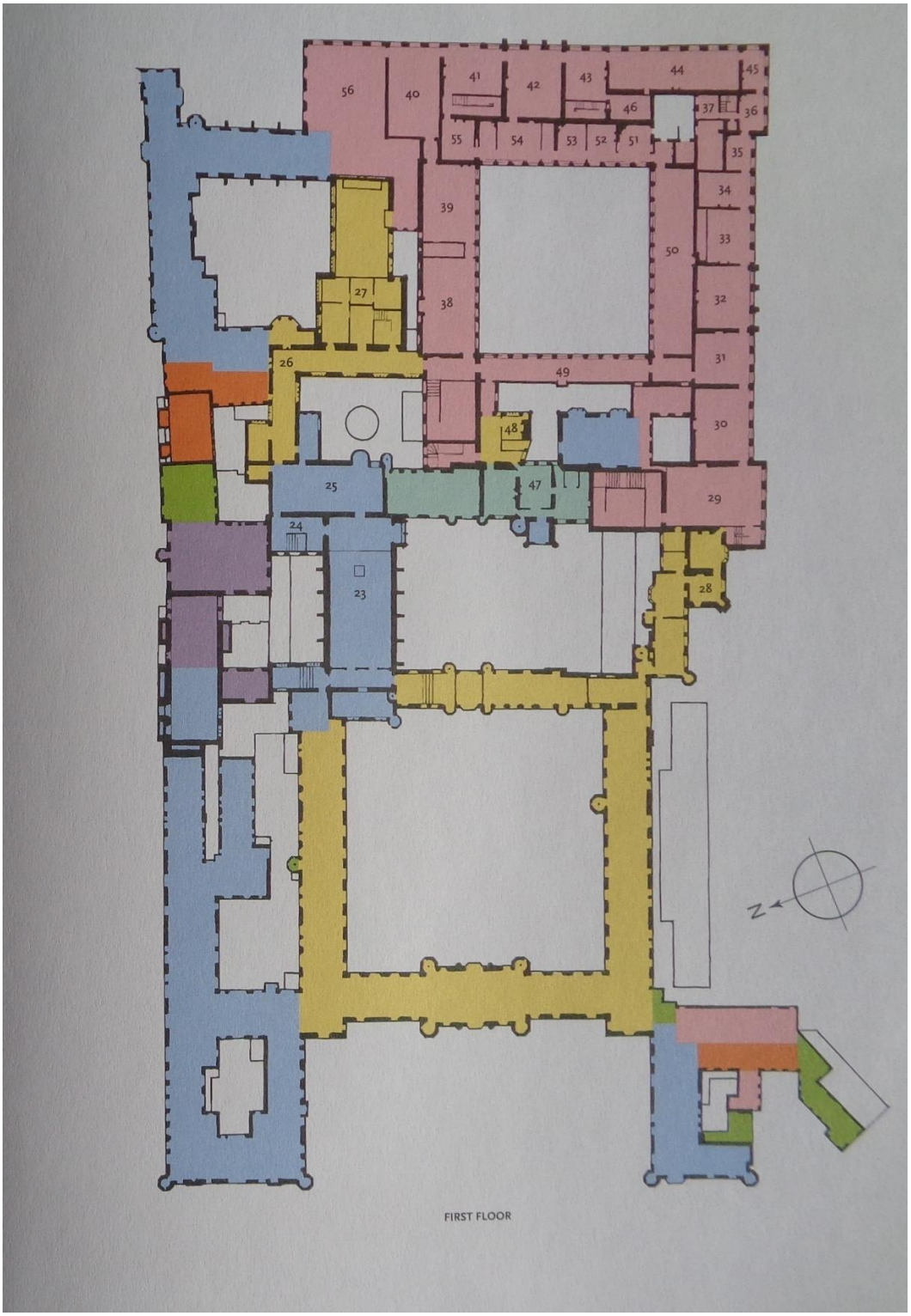


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Figure 4.25: Louis Laguerre, *The Twelve Labors of Hercules*, 1691-1694, Fountain Court, Hampton Court Palace, East Molesey

Figure 4.26: Godfrey Kneller, *William III on Horseback*, 1701, oil on canvas, 444 x 424.8 cm, The Royal Collection, RCIN 403986

Figure 4.27: *The Death of Hercules*, Flemish, early 16th c., woven silk and wool, 396 x 518 cm, The Royal Collection, RCIN 1268

Figure 4.28: Cartoon Gallery, 35.6 x 7.3 m, Hampton Court Palace, East Molesey

Figure 4.29: Queen's Gallery, 24.4 x 7.6 m, Hampton Court Palace, East Molesey

Figure 4.30: Banqueting House, Hampton Court Palace, East Molesey

Figure 4.31: interior Banqueting House, with frescoes by Antonio Verrio, 1701, Hampton Court Palace, East Molesey

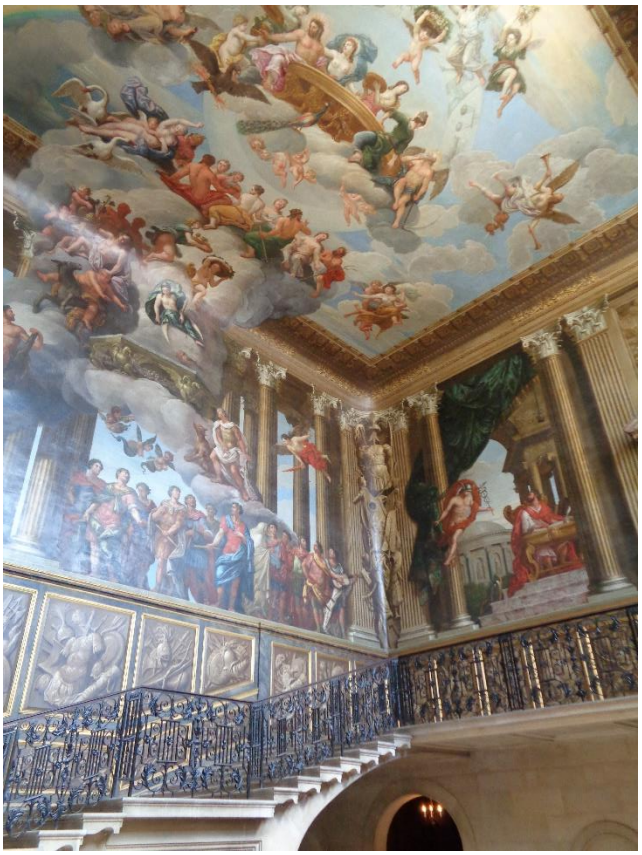

Figure 4.32: King's Staircase, with frescoes by Antonio Verrio, 1702, Hampton Court Palace, East Molesey

Figure 4.33: detail of Figure 4.32

Figure 4.34: Galerie François I, built 1528-1535 and decorated 1535-1540, 64 x 6 m, Château de Fontainebleau, Fontainebleau

Figure 4.35: Hall of Mirrors, 1678-1686, 73 x 10.4 m, Château de Versailles, Versailles

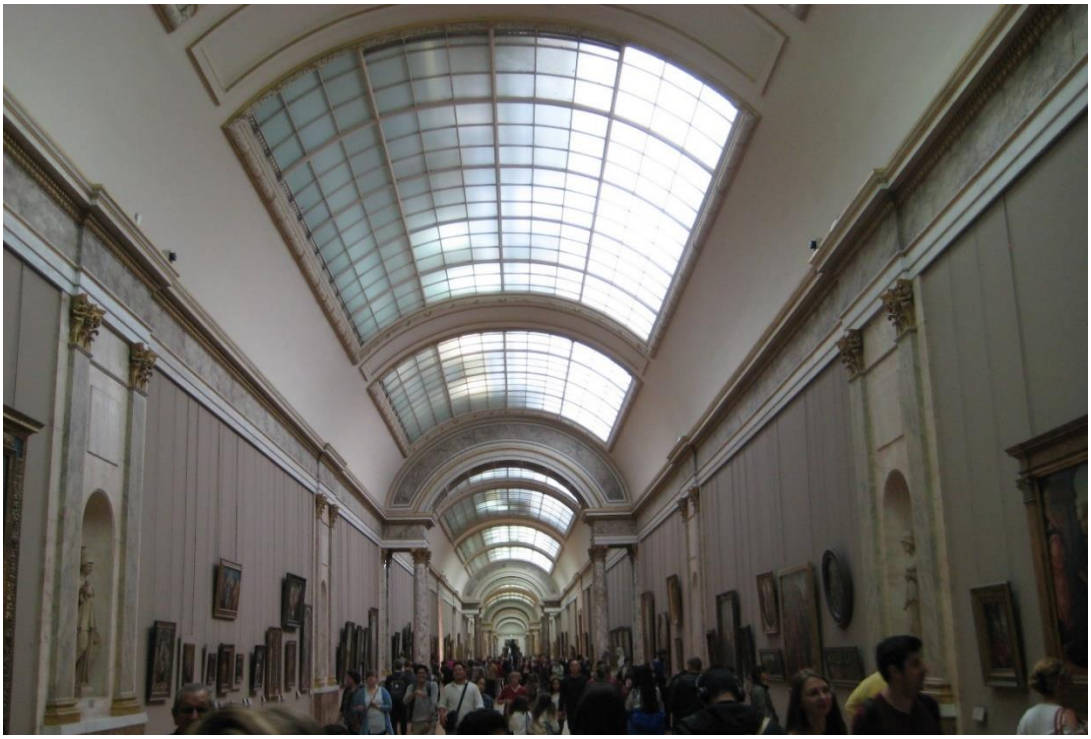

Figure 4.36: Grand Galerie, 1595-1608, length then around 500 m, Musée du Louvre, Paris

Figure 4.37: Hall of Battles, decorations commissioned 1584, El Escorial, San Lorenzo de El Escorial

Figure 4.38: Paintings Gallery, Paleis Het Loo, Apeldoorn, Gelderland

Figure 4.39: Queen's Drawing Room, with frescoes by Antonio Verrio, 1705, 12.6 x 10.5 m, Hampton Court Palace, East Molesey

Figure 4.40: detail of Figure 4.39

Figure 4.41: Public Dining Room, 15.3 x 9.1 m, Hampton Court Palace, East Molesey

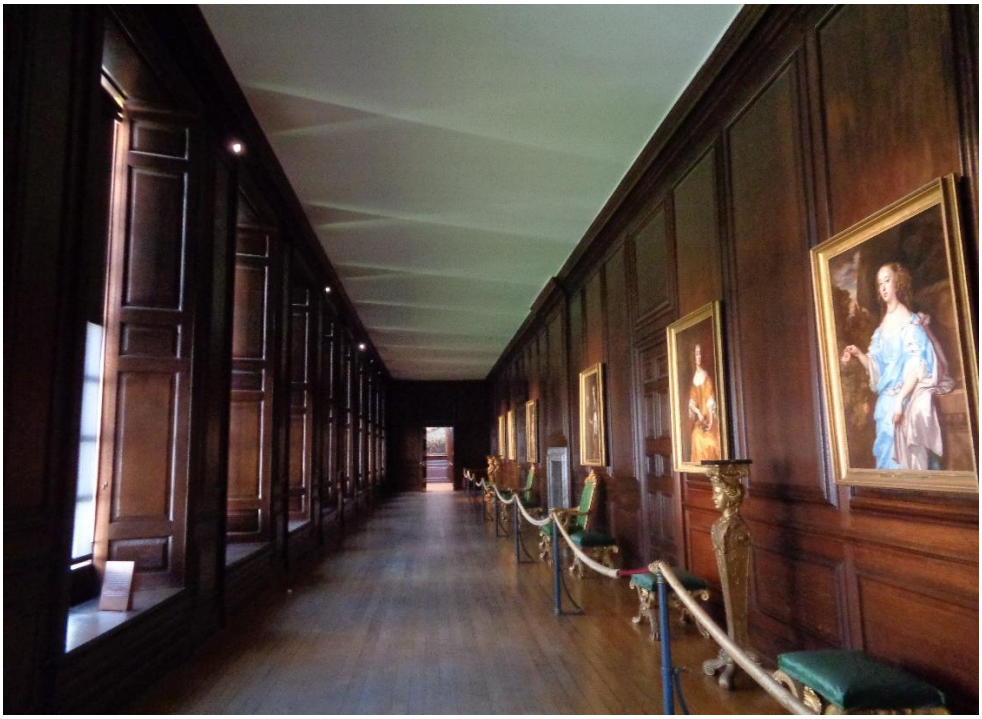

Figure 4.42: Communication Gallery, 31.7 x 4.3 m, Hampton Court Palace, East Molesey

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